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The Next Big Fight

FTAA: NAFTA on Steroids

By Soliman Lawrence

On the morning of January 1, 1994, the Mexican government woke to find that an indigenous people's army called the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), had taken over several states in southern Mexico, in defiance of Neo-liberalism and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). January 1 marked the day that NAFTA would be formally implemented. The Zapatistas' uprising was to say "ya basta," enough, to the devastating effects of Neo-liberalism on indigenous people, the environment, and workers. NAFTA, to the Zapatistas, was a death warrant. Now, seven years later, all 34 nations in the Western Hemisphere, except Cuba, are engaged in negotiations to expand NAFTA to the entire Western Hemisphere. This trade agreement is being called the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and is expected to be implemented by 2005. Talks for this trade agreement began in Miami in December 1994, only one year after NAFTA was implemented and the Zapatistas' uprising. But opposition to the FTAA is mounting and people from all around the Americas are preparing to confront the FTAA at their Summit of the Americas meeting this April in Quebec City. Activists hope to draw enough attention to these negotiations to create a state of civil and congressional outrage and a collapse of the negotiations, or at least a halt to fast track.

Nine negotiating groups have been created to produce an outline of each chapter of the agreement – for example, investment or intellectual property rights. These negotiations have been operating in almost complete secrecy, only receiving input from corporate interest groups such as the Americas Business Forum (ABF).

A Committee of Government Representatives on Civil Society was established to represent the views of civil society, but this committee is little more than a mail in-box and has no mechanism to incorporate civil society's concerns into the actual negotiations. Former US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown made it very clear about who is actually writing this agreement when he addressed an ABF meeting, reportedly saying that they were the leaders of the FTAA process and that the government's role was to take whatever policy steps were needed to best suit the business interests in the Hemisphere.

While these negotiations remain secret, the FTAA is expected to look very similar to NAFTA. The FTAA is expected to include a provision almost identical to NAFTA's Chapter 11, which allows corporations to sue governments directly, outside of any domestic court and before a NAFTA tribunal. These tribunals are made up of a three-person panel composed of judges picked by the opposing sides. They

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picture by Seth Tobacman

The Zapatistas March on Mexico City

By Scott Campbell

History was made in Mexico when Vicente Fox, of the National Action Party (PAN), was elected president in July of 2000. His election overthrew the world's longest ruling regime, the Party of the Institutional Revolution (PRI), which held power in Mexico for over 70 years since its inception in the 1920s.

One of the major planks of his campaign was peace in Chiapas, which he claimed he could bring about in 15 minutes. In that southeastern state, there has been ongoing tensions and violence since the Zapatista Army of National Liberation's (EZLN) uprising in 1994 for the greater recognition of indigenous rights, among other things. The violence has been perpetuated on the Zapatista support bases by the Mexican army and right-wing paramilitaries, armed and trained by the Mexican army.

On December 2, the day before Fox's inauguration, the Zapatistas broke their seven-month public silence by holding a press conference in the Aguascaliente of La Realidad. Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, the EZLN spokesperson, welcomed the Fox administration and told the press that they would be willing to return to peace negotiations after the comple-

tion of three demands they made of the Fox administration, in order to be sure of Fox's sincerity. Negotiations have been on hold since 1996 when after signing the San Andres Accords the government, under the control of President



photo from
www.chiapas.indymedia.org

Zapatista support rally

Ernesto Zedillo, refused to implement the accords into law. The three demands of the Zapatistas are the removal of seven military bases that are near or in Zapatista support communities, the release of 103 Zapatista political prisoners, and the passage of the San Andres Accords by the Congress, known as the "Cocopa Law."

So far, Fox has been sending mixed messages to the Zapatistas. His first day in office he ordered the suspension of 53 military checkpoints throughout Chiapas. Up to today, he has withdrawn four of the seven military bases, released 30 prisoners, and has introduced the Cocopa Law to Congress. Each step has been completed with much fanfare and publicity, generated by the Fox administration to make Fox appear dedicated to peace. He now demands that the Zapatistas return to dialogue, without him fulfilling the three demands. He stated that he will not remove any more military from Chiapas, and the release of prisoners has stopped. However, the Zapatistas refuse to speak with Fox until all three demands are met. In response to the apparently stalemated situation and to gain support for the Cocopa Law, on February 24 the Zapatistas began a march to Mexico City, where they will engage in a dialogue with the Congress for the passage of the law. The march will last until March 11. Twenty-three commanders of the Zapatista Army, along with Subcomandante Marcos, will pass through 12 states on their way to Mexico City. They will also participate in the Third National Indigenous Conference.

This historic event has captured the attention of the world, but also brought about fear for the safety of the Zapatista delegation. They will be traveling unarmed and hold Vicente Fox responsible for anything that may happen to them because he has denied permission for the International Committee of the Red Cross, a neutral organization, to accompany the delegation to ensure their safety. They have received several death

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Anarchism vs. Right-Wing 'Anti-Statism'

By Brian Oliver Sheppard

Over the past two decades something interesting has occurred that the Anarchist movement has yet to adequately address. Rhetoric is coming from politicians that a hundred years ago (if not more recently) would have earned them the label "Anarchists." Though the politicians employing this type of rhetoric are most consistently Republicans, "big government liberals" in the Democratic Party have also been drawn to this style of speaking.

The idea they are voicing is a simple one: government is bad. The bigger it is, the worse it gets. The smaller we make it, the better for all. We don't want government butting into our affairs, and we don't want government regulating us at every turn. And, unlike Anarchists who say essentially the same thing, the politicians who endorse this view are not placed under police surveillance, slaughtered en masse by the National Guard, or framed up on conspiracy charges, but are instead elected into that institution they claim to hate – the government. These allegedly anti-government leaders paint oppo-

nents as "big government insiders," and vow to get in office to fight for you, the common person, who has a distrust of all those cheating politicians and of government in general. A huge amount of politicians ride into office on campaigns with such themes as "eliminating government" or at least "shrinking" it. "He wants to increase the size and the scope of the federal government," George W. Bush said about Al Gore during his campaign for President in the 2000 election. Vice President Al Gore countered, "I'm for a smaller, smarter government that serves people better, but offers real change." If both sides are honest and are in fact committed to shrinking government, then this must mean we are tremendously close to living in a truly free, stateless society where there is no government at all, right? Well, no. In fact, just the opposite is occurring.

SELECTIVE SHRINKING,
SELECTIVE EXPANSION

Politicians on the Right have co-opted a very long tradition of anti-government sentiment and

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WHAT IS ONWARD?

ONWARD is an Anarchist newspaper intending to facilitate both a report of Anarchist actions worldwide, and foster analysis of current events from an Anarchist perspective, all in the process of building an intelligent, well informed and powerful revolutionary movement. Our goal is to show the relation of the different liberation struggles (animal, earth and human) and the unification of often separated movements. Different Anarchist viewpoints (Syndicalist, Feminist, Green etc.) are not mutually exclusive, but rather all fit together in the larger revolutionary framework. Real liberation is freedom in every sphere of life; we must dissolve all forms of hierarchy that tangle the world in coercion, oppression, and domination and replace them with liberatory and cooperative structures guaranteeing all to participate in reshaping the local and world communities. We aim for a social sphere that needs and desires no such rulings over our lives and communities. We believe in the abolition of capitalism; that economies should not set one class above another but foster economies of solidarity and mutual aid, and communities and politics of direct decision making. Our short-term goal is unification and our long-term goal is social revolution.

To that end, **ONWARD** is a forum for Anarchist news locally and globally, and contains Anarchist and radical history, theory and opinion in order to not only critique the social and political relationships that exist today, but also to present a viable and logical future based on voluntary cooperation, direct and participatory democracy, mutual aid, solidarity, and freedom; in short, Anarchy!

SUBMISSIONS:

ONWARD relies on submissions from people throughout the world. They can be on a wide variety of topics; from news to opinion to theory. Include information on how to get involved in the issue you're reporting on, but please do not exceed 2,500 words in length. Pictures and other graphics are needed and should be sent to our PO Box (listed below). Though we prefer articles be sent on email, they can also be sent on IBM format disks, or send hard copies to the PO Box. The collective reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity, but please include your name, address (land and email) and phone number in the case of large editions.

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40 copies: \$25; 50 copies: \$30; 60 copies: \$35; 80 copies: \$45; 100 copies: \$50
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SUBSCRIPTIONS:

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DISCLAIMER:

Views expressed in **ONWARD** are those of the author and not necessarily of the Onward Collective. No article in the publication is intended to encourage or promote illegal activity; the content is solely for educational purposes.
Intentionally revised spellings are expressions of individual contributor's political beliefs (i.e. 'womyn' instead of 'women').

DEADLINES:

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From the Onward Collective,

The mass actions of the past year and a half have come and gone and, with the exception of the upcoming demonstrations against the Free Trade Area of the Americas, these mass actions have lost much of their appeal. We must now come to terms with the question: are we going to be a movement, or are we going to succumb to action-hopping until that gets too boring and we decide to just join capitalist America?

This question must be dealt with in all honesty, as it is an important one. Who are we? What do we want? Do we have what it takes to become a movement capable of creating and sustaining revolutionary change?

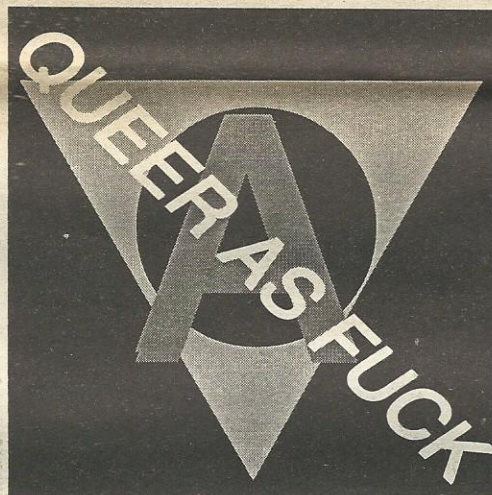
We hope the recent success of the so-called 'anti-globalization' movement can be taken into individual communities and applied there. We hope that the internal acts of oppression that have manifest themselves particularly along race and gender lines can be dealt with in a way that works toward the utter destruction of all systems of oppression. While structural adjustment programs happen "over there" (in Latin America, Africa and "elsewhere"), they also happen right here in our very backyard. Similarly, as we work to dismantle the systems of state power that preserve and maintain hierarchy and domination of "those people," we must also dismantle our own internal hierarchies and dominations that exclude or patronize marginalized people within our movement: people of color and women and queers of all races.

We must always keep in mind that any new society will only be a replica of the movement(s) that brought it into existence. To that end, as we work to develop our understanding and critique of the practices and policies of state capitalism, racism, sexism and heterosexism, we must also work to redefine ourselves: what we are for, and how we go about achieving it. Howard Ehrlich (p. 12) and Cindy Milstein (p.15) open the dialogue about making sure the ways we define ourselves are accurate representations of what we, as a movement, are fighting for. In our attempt to adequately and accurately define ourselves, we must learn from the rich history of dissent in this country. Anti-imperialist political prisoner and former Students for a Democratic Society and Weather Underground Organization member David Gilbert explains some movement history in part 1 of a 2-part series. The first part is a history and analysis of SDS (p. 13), and the next issue of **ONWARD** will feature a history and analysis of WUO.

If we are not working for the total liberation of all, our work will, at best, tear down oppressive structures only to install new, equally oppressive ones. Angela Beallor and Onward Collective member Tom Thomson offer much-needed criti-

cisms of the statist, capitalist nature of mainstream queer organizations (p. 10-11). We cannot simply reform ourselves to revolution. Revolutionary queer politics are nothing new, and must be re-injected into the predominantly reformist nature of today's queer struggle in order to defeat heterosexism. Wispy explains the need to combat heterosexism and view queerness as liberating our desires.

What's important to remember is that the struggle is going on right now, from Korea and Tanzania (p. 3) to Mexico (p. 1) and beyond. As the struggle intensifies, so does state repression



(p. 5, 6, 7). Activists currently facing severe state repression deserve our much needed support; please contribute in whatever way you can. We must also recognize that the state can, has and will use a lack of goals and internal oppression to destroy the movement, further necessitating the need to not fall victim to them.

Hope is what sustains us; it gives us vision and a reason to continue our work amidst repression and setbacks. Therefore, it is of vital importance that we find and maintain hope, and that our hope is based on real-life struggles, and not simply the romanticization of mass actions. Chris Dixon, one of the organizers of the anti-WTO demonstrations, explains where he finds hope after Seattle (p. 14).

As mass actions get romanticized, so do the 'fuck-shit-up' actions of the black bloc. While these actions indeed serve important purposes, they often transgress into little more than macho games. The Rock Bloc Collective issue an important call to resist 'manarchy' (p.15). Both state capitalism and the movement are wrought with examples of internal oppression, and race/racism still remain at the forefront. Carlos Fernandez offers strategies for Anarchists dealing with race.

As always, this issue contains news from around the world, theory, opinion, history and strategy relevant to building and sustaining a movement.

It is important that, if we consider ourselves to be radicals and revolutionaries, that we take ourselves seriously. To that end, **ONWARD** has set goals and deadlines for ourselves and have, thus far, met those goals and deadlines with resounding success. We hope that the grassroots, where our articles and support come from, take themselves equally serious in their political work in their communities, and in getting articles to us on time. Deadlines are deadlines!

While on the subject, the deadline for Vol. 2, Iss. 1 is June 1st, and it will be out in mid-June. The centerfold topic is on Anarchist responses to crime and prison. Ideas include what we plan on doing instead of prisons: the economics (and race) of 'crime'; and Anarchist responses to rape. Send in your articles and graphics by June 1st or before... the earlier the better! We at the Onward Collective feel that, in addition to reporting on news of struggles worldwide, it is equally important that Anarchists openly and honestly deal with issues on the feasibility and practicality of an Anarchist society. This does not mean that we all have to agree on everything, but we need to discuss these issues if we ever hope to put them into practice.

Lastly, please remember that we survive solely from support from the grassroots - in other words, people like you! Please consider subscribing if you haven't already, and/or distributing the paper. We are also in need of good Anarchist/radical artwork and photographs, so send us some! Above all, please be in touch and let us know what's going on in your neck of the woods.

In Solidarity and Struggle,

Dan Berger,
Onward Collective

CORRECTIONS:

In the Winter 2000-01 issue of ONWARD in "Earth First! Takes Direct Action Against Cement Plant," several paragraphs were accidentally cut from the article, significantly changing the meaning. To get the original, please contact the author, Jimmy Fishhawk, c/o ONWARD at our PO Box listed below. Please address envelope to Jimmy.

Also, the correct author of The Black Panther Party - Reconsidered is Charles E. Jones. We accidentally reported otherwise in the last issue.

Send all correspondence to the Onward Collective at:

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South Korean Workers Struggle Against Layoffs

Daewoo Layoffs Spawn Mass Protests

The firing of over 1,700 workers by Daewoo Motors in a restructuring plan intended to make the ailing auto maker an attractive purchase for General Motors has led to much protest at the Daewoo plant in Bupyeong, about 30km west of Seoul.

The clash is yet another in a series of violent episodes between police and Daewoo workers since Daewoo collapsed during the 1997-98 Asian financial crisis. In Seoul on February 19, 34 Daewoo Group executives and accountants, including Chang Byong-joo, former president of Daewoo Corp., were indicted for being involved in a multi-billion dollar slush fund. According to the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), a militant umbrella group of trade unions with about 600,000 members, "Daewoo Motor's mass layoffs, which was the largest-ever, was the result of the Kim Dae-Jung government's neo-liberalistic economic restructuring that demands sacrifice only from workers."

The continuing Daewoo struggle represents

the fundamental shift in Korea's economy since the 1997-98 crash. To soothe the crisis, the International Monetary Fund loaned South Korea approximately \$21 billion US dollars. In exchange, the government of former dissident Kim Dae-Jung agreed to the IMF's economic restructuring program. The IMF has since heralded its South Korean loans as a stunning success. Currently, the South Korean economy is growing at approximately 9%, but analysts worry that South Korea is still not streamlining its economy enough, even though unemployment has soared to at least 4%, well above pre-crisis levels when South Koreans used to be able to rely on lifetime employment. KCTU officials predict the nation will face several hundred thousand layoffs if the government continues to follow IMF prescriptions; the union pledges to fight those layoffs, and the international globalization ("seggyehwa") they represent, through strikes, protests and by whatever means necessary. As union leader Kim Il-sup said, "We've nothing more to lose, what can we do but protest?"



Autoworkers face off against Korean police with iron pipes



Police run from bus set afire by protesters

Protesters, Police Fight Outside Sit-In

Defying police threats to forcibly break up their sit-in, hundreds of dismissed Daewoo Motor workers continued their protest against mass layoffs at the automaker's main plant Tuesday, February 20, which led to brief but violent scuffles with riot police.

About 350 laid-off workers and their family members clashed with riot police at around 10 a.m. when other protesters outside the plant attempted to make their way inside to join the indoor sit-in at the police-blocked plant in Pupyong, about 30 km west of Seoul.

Protesters swung steel pipes, hurled small metal barricades and stones at the police clad in riot gear, demanding that their colleagues outside be admitted to the plant to join the sit-in.

Several workers and police were injured in the clash, while at least one protester was detained by police.

However, some 10 outside protesters slipped through the police line into the plant during the chaos of the clash that lasted about one and a half hours, before ending around 11:20 a.m.

About 1,800 riot police were blocking all gates into the plant where about 300 dismissed workers and their families began the sit-in protest Friday night inside the plant before being joined by 50 others Saturday who sneaked into the plant.

The sit-in came after the ailing automaker officially notified 1,751 workers that they were fired as part of restructuring.

As rumors spread that police might break up the sit-in, protesters piled up steel containers and car parts on major roads inside the plant to barricade themselves.

After obtaining arrest warrants Sunday for 30 union leaders for orchestrating the illegal strike, police detained one of them. However, they were reluctant to move into the plant to arrest 29 others for fear of violent clashes.

Lee Moo-young, commissioner-general of the National Police Agency (NPA), said that it is inevitable for police to break up the sit-in when it continues over a long period of time.

Meanwhile, the Korean Confederation of Trade Union (KCTU), a militant umbrella labor group, said that it would launch an all-out anti-government struggle when police attempt a forceful breakup of Daewoo workers' sit-in.

"Daewoo Motor's mass layoffs, which was the largest-ever, was the result of the Kim Dae-jung government's neo-liberalistic economic restructuring that demands sacrifice only from workers," the KCTU said in a statement.

"We would like to ask the government what it did to avoid the 'death sentence-like' layoffs?"

The militant labor group, with a membership of about 600,000 demanded the withdrawal of riot police from the Daewoo plant and cancellation of arrest warrants for union leaders.

It also urged the government to scrap its plan to sell the ailing automaker to foreigners.

Daewoo Motor, the nation's third largest carmaker, collapsed in the midst of the 1997-98 Asian economic crisis. It has been surviving under court receivership since it filed for bankruptcy in November under an estimated bank debt of \$10 billion.

Anarchism is

the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government – harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the State in all its functions. They would represent an interwoven network, composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees, local, regional, national and international – temporary or more or less permanent – for all possible purposes: production, consumption and exchange, communications, sanitary arrangements, education, mutual protection, defense of the territory, and so on; and, on the other side, for the satisfaction of an ever-increasing number of scientific, artistic, literary and sociable needs. Moreover, such a society would represent nothing immutable. On the contrary – as is seen in organic life at large – harmony would (it is contended) result from an ever-changing adjustment and readjustment of equilibrium between the multitudes of forces and influences, and this adjustment would be the easier to obtain as none of the forces would enjoy a special protection from the State."

-Peter Kropotkin



Tanzania Fears Unrest May Hurt Reputation With Global Donors

The last month has been tense and violent on the semi-autonomous Tanzanian island, Zanzibar, as thousands of Zanzibaris have taken to the streets to question the legitimacy of the nation's October 29, 2000, elections. On February 11, ten thousand supporters of the Civic United Front, opposition to Tanzania's ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi party, which holds power on the mainland and in the islands of Zanzibar, rallied on Unguja, Zanzibar's largest island, to call for a new constitution. The rally followed a bloody January 27 protest on the island during which government troops massacred over sixty participants in an "illegal" demonstration. Most recently, on February 19, machete-wielding assailants killed Rashid Omar Ali, local secretary of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi party.

President Benjamin Mkapa, who was attending the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, supporting a proposal by several African leaders to work in equal partnership with international lending institutions in order to economically develop the African continent, at the time of the January 27 massacre, has expressed

public concern that the actions of his government will arouse the attention of human rights organizations, which in turn may threaten Tanzania's chance of obtaining international loans. He is especially concerned with the country's reputation because on February 23, he and several other African heads of state will begin a three day summit in Dar Es Salaam with Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, Horst Köhler, and World Bank President, James Wolfensohn. According to the International Monetary Fund, Tanzania has been a successful example of its ability to increase economic growth (up to a rate of 4.7 percent in 1999) while eliminating poverty through "Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility" plans and debt reduction. Critics accuse the IMF's loans and Structural Adjustment Programs of turning the East African nation into a country that must reduce public expenditures to its 32 million citizens, nearly sixty percent of whom live on less than two US dollars a day, in order to maintain a business environment that continues to attract multi-million dollar loans and international investment.

FTAA: The Next Big Fight

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operate in almost complete institutional secrecy. Their actions cannot be appealed except under special circumstances, documents are restricted to the nations involved in the dispute, due process requirements are absent, citizen participation is denied, and their decisions may not be publicized unless the parties involved choose to make them public.

There have already been many cases brought to suit over non-tariff trade barriers that corporations claim are "expropriating" future profits and "violate NAFTA's Chapter 11." One case was brought to the NAFTA tribunal by the US-based Ethyl Corporation.

They sued Canada for \$250 million after Canada banned the gasoline additive MMT because the additive posed health risks and clogged vehicles' catalytic converters. Ethyl claimed the ban violated NAFTA because it "expropriated" future profits and damaged Ethyl's reputation. After learning that the NAFTA tribunal was likely to rule against its position, the Canadian government revoked the ban, paid Ethyl \$13 million, and issued a public statement declaring there was no evidence that MMT posed health or environmental risks. While there are many other cases that threaten democratic sovereignty, the environment, workers, and public safety, this case clearly shows the inherently undemocratic, unjust, and harmful policies that could be included in the FTAA.

It is also expected that the FTAA will include something similar to a "global free logging agreement" (GFLA), similar to the one proposed, but defeated, at the WTO meetings in Seattle. If this is included it would be a push to increase production and sale of forest products by eliminating tariffs and non-tariff trade barriers (NTB)

to all forest products. With a something similar to a GFLA, US laws designed to protect forests, the environment, and small locally owned mills could be challenged under the FTAA as Non-Tariff Trade Barriers (NTB). If challenged and defeated, these laws would have to be eliminated. It would increase consumption and production of forest products, increase unsustainable logging, threaten eco-labeling laws

while corporations operating in Mexico's maquiladora (sweatshop) zones won't even allow unions and often fire anyone who complains. The lure of weaker labor and environmental laws has lured US corporations to relocate to Mexico, taking away US jobs and exploiting Mexican workers.

NAFTA leverages Mexican workers against each other for who will accept the least pay and worst working conditions. With the FTAA, workers in Mexico will be leveraged against even more desperate workers in Haiti, Guatemala, Brazil, or any of the other 34 nations involved in the FTAA.

According to Public Citizen, by 1997, an estimated 28,000 small businesses in Mexico had been destroyed by competition with foreign

multinationals and their Mexican partners. Eight million Mexicans have been pushed out of the middle class and into poverty. Maquiladoras have increased by 37 percent since 1993. Every day, 44 tons of hazardous waste is disposed of improperly. NAFTA has weakened food safety inspections. Strawberries, head lettuce, and carrots from Mexico have violation rates of 18.4 percent, 15.6 percent and 12.3 percent, respectively, for illegal pesticide residues.

If NAFTA is any indication as to what we are to expect from the FTAA, and I would be personally relieved if it was no worse than NAFTA, then we must begin listening to and learning from the actions of the Zapatistas. People from all around the Americas are preparing to protest in Quebec City this April at the FTAA's Summit of the Americas. A major grassroots campaign has begun with the intention to stop the FTAA, and it has the potential to build the anti-corporate globalization movement - to create an ongoing "Seattle coalition" of labor, student, environmental, religious, farm, and human rights activists.

There are several obstacles in the FTAA's way: 1) Fast Track. The Bush administration will be working hard to gain fast-track authority from Congress, allowing him to push the FTAA into completion quickly, without amendments. Trade officials hope to have it completed early, by 2003. But Congress has not been included in these negotiations and, with enough pressure from citizens, Congress could very well deny Bush fast track. 2) Chapter 11. Canada has declared that they will not sign the FTAA as long as it includes provisions similar to NAFTA's Chapter 11. 3) People. The greatest obstacle the FTAA faces is citizen protest. There is a great opportunity for citizen opposition to drive a wedge between parties involved in Fast Track

REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE, SPRING 2001

On April 20th to 22nd, the ruling elites of the Americas will gather in Quebec City to discuss the implementation of the FTAA and, to a large extent, the future of us all. The FTAA represents essentially an expansion of NAFTA to include the entire Americas region. The objective? To further clear the way for laws allowing corporations to sue member nations when they feel a government measure impedes "free trade," to further attack the already fragile social safety systems we have, to pave the way for possible privatization of schools, hospitals, and all other social services, and to further consolidate the dictatorship of capital in the Americas.

They will be playing with the lives of everyone in the Americas at the summit in Quebec City, the lives of every American (Northern, Southern, or Central) worker, peasant, unemployed, retiree or student. Yet, for some reason, the "democratic" leaders that govern us have neglected to invite us to this summit, or even to show us the texts they will be discussing. They have even gone as far as to build an enormous fence around a large part of Quebec City to keep us out. All this has prompted many reformist organizations to protest, and they will be in Quebec City to demand a "place at the table."

Yet we, anti-statists, anti-authoritarians, anti-capitalists, and revolutionaries, will be converging on Quebec City for a different reason. We are not interested in a place at the table of capitalism, or in providing a more humane and friendly face for what we know to be an inherently flawed system. We have a different vision, one of a society based on mutual aid and solidarity, where people are not robbed of the fruits of their labor, and where decisions that affect everybody are made by everybody, rather than by a select few. And, just as importantly, a society where people know who their enemies are, and are ready to stand up to them. We are interested in nothing less than the destruction of the "table of capitalism."

The summit of the Americas is an attack on all of us and must be treated as such. We must show the ruling elites of the Americas that we are ready to resist their attacks and fight back. We must show them that we are ungovernable and that no amount of police can keep them safe from the anger of those they oppress.

Friday April 20th is the day of action called by the Anti-Capitalist convergence and the Summit of the Americas Welcoming Committee. Actions on this day will be divided into three "blocs." A green bloc with no, or minimal, risk of arrest; a yellow bloc, for people planning to do civil disobedience; and a red bloc, for the "disturbance oriented" crowd.

We are thus calling on all militant revolutionaries to converge on Quebec City on April 20th in the Red bloc to show the ruling elites that no fence is strong enough to withstand the force of the people when class anger erupts.

It's time for the Revolutionary Anti-Capitalist Offensive!

IT DIDN'T START IN SEATTLE, IT WON'T END IN QUEBEC!

More information (contact, meeting times and places, etc.) will be provided as it becomes available.

Autonomous Organizing Collective of Anti-Authoritarians from the Midwest, Northeast, Montreal, and Quebec quebecresistance@hushmail.com

and Chapter 11 negotiations. This means action, from letters to Congress to strong protests in the streets.

While the WTO, NAFTA, IMF, and World Bank are already planted firmly in the global economy, the FTAA is still being negotiated and is, therefore, much more vulnerable. This can be illustrated by the defeat of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, which collapsed due to citizen and congressional opposition. A massive resistance of environmental, labor, healthcare, human rights, farm, and consumer groups can and will stop the FTAA, but only if the resistance is diverse enough and united firmly in its common interests. Our strength lies in the alliances we form between these groups and the alternatives we build along the way, not only to fight the FTAA more effectively, but in the long road ahead as we confront every form of oppression that controls our lives.

Soliman Lawrence has lived in Tallahassee Florida in an intentional com-

munity of over 100 families for the last 10 years. He views the success of his community's cooperative effort as a beautiful example of the human potential to create a more just and sustainable society. Most of his work in Tallahassee has been helping to strengthen the ability of progressive and politically conscious people to organize. He helped found and operate an all-volunteer community center to offer a safe, empowering environment for all people (mostly youth) to learn, create, have fun, and express themselves. He has worked with local student group, the Center for Participant Education, to organize free educational classes, speakers, and events. He participated in the Mobilization for Global Justice Roadshow and helped coordinate direct action in Washington DC and Philadelphia this summer. He is currently working on organizing the Turning Point Roadshow, and can be contacted at solilawrence@yahoo.com (For more info on the FTAA, see: www.a20.org and www.stopftaa.org)

WEF Met With Protests in Cancun

By Ramor Ryan

Anti-globalization activists are everywhere. Everywhere the globalizers have gone since the breakdown of the Seattle round in November of 1999, they have been pursued and harried by a plethora of protesters, and the Feb. 26-27th World Economic Forum meeting in Cancun continued with this successful strategy. A diversity of people have come to this absurd resort to organize, demonstrate and disrupt the proceedings. By their very presence alone, the activists have affected the meeting, as various mouth-pieces for the WEF dispatch their press releases in defence of their doctrine, and try desperately to disarm the dissenting voice by engaging them in vacuous dialogue.

In Cancun on Feb. 26, the numbers were low, only a few hundred protesters, but it grew steadily as the day progressed. This disappointment is no doubt to do with location; Cancun is situated at the far end of the Yucatan peninsula, more than a 1500km from Mexico City. The costs of arriving here are huge. As for the local community, the indigenous population of the town is small, as the workforce is in the most part, in classic neo-liberal fashion, temporary, migratory and un-unionised. And finally, most Mexican activists are organising the mobilisation in support of the Zapatista Caravan that unfortunately coincided with this event. Nevertheless, the 500 or so who made the journey are aware they represent the millions nationally and globally who are not present.

A FESTIVAL OF RESISTANCE

The first march on Monday the 26th was celebratory and peaceful. The protesters are grouped around four main organisations: F-26, Civil Disobedience, the student CGH and El Barzon with the radical Black-bloc and Maoist contingents making up the numbers. Boisterous and colorful, they march as far as the fortified police cordon at the entrance to the Tourist Zone, where they taunt security forces, a few cheekily exhibiting their backsides to the sullen lines of riot cops before heading back to the centre of commercial Cancun. Avenues around the city are lined by loitering police forces and riot police, some with their gas masks ready, and a helicopter hovers menacingly overhead. Migration officials look for foreigner participation. Agent provocateurs mingle with the marchers, and every inch and every face is monitored and filmed.

Back at the Palapas, a quiet little grass park that functioned as base camp for the activists, the protesters assembled, met and organized around campfires and

continued on page 9



photo from www.chiapas.indymedia.org

STATE REPRESSION WATCH

Chattanooga 3 Update Sentencing and Lessons

By Ernesto Aguilar

In what may be recalled as one of the most exciting international Anarchist-initiated campaigns in some time, the Chattanooga 3 were spared jail time following their recent trial, and organizers everywhere can learn lessons from this case and what it means to future political prosecutions.

GUILTY VERDICT, SUSPENDED SENTENCE

Following a guilty verdict in January, the Chattanooga 3 (Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, Damon McGee and Mikail Musa Muhammad) were handed suspended sentences Feb. 26 for disrupting a 1998 Chattanooga City Council meeting.

Before sentencing, Judge Rebecca J. Stern told the three men, "I believe your motivations were good. Your method was wrong, but your message was right."

Stern gave Komboa, a former Black Panther and author of *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*, a 60-day suspended sentence and ordered him to do 10 days of community service. McGee and Muhammad each received 30-day suspended sentences and five days of community service.

Lorenzo, Damon and Mikail helped to organize a protest over the police killings of two black men, Montrail Collins on April 28, and Kevin McCullough on May 6, 1998. Collins and McCullough were two of the over 40 predominantly black people who have been killed by Chattanooga police since 1980. No police have ever been prosecuted for these killings.

Komboa was promised that he could address the City Council, but when the scheduled time came for him to speak, he was kept from speaking. When he took over a microphone and began reading a statement denouncing police brutality, he was seized, beaten and arrested by police. McGee and Muhammad, who defended Lorenzo against the police, were also beaten and arrested.

The light sentence comes on the heels of what can only be described as a troubling trial, in which police allegedly tried new jury-tainting tactics we should all be aware of.

On the second day of the 3-day trial, a black man, who was not immediately identified, tried to get in the courtroom with a gun and ammunition. It is a felony offense punishable by up to 7 years to bring firearms into a courtroom in Tennessee, but sheriff's deputies, who handle security for the Criminal Courts, did not arrest the man. According to Komboa, when the man left the courtroom, he angrily screamed that he would be back "with some people from bin Laden," presum-

Of course, many Anarchists, longtime comrades of Komboa and those influenced by his writings, came out to support the Chattanooga 3. Even those in the Anarchist movement who disagreed with one another reached out for each

other and united together to see this through. That type of unity is often rare, and it's important to see this happen.

Struggle around the Chattanooga 3 case was highly organized, and drew interest from many sectors in part for Komboa's visibility and in part through organizers' efforts to bring a variety of approaches to this campaign. International Days of Action for the Chattanooga 3 came around January, and protests in Scotland, Canada, the United States and elsewhere

helped raise the bar. In addition, letter writing and fax campaigns appealing on free-speech and right-to-assembly grounds made an impact. Court assemblies and raucous protests in Chattanooga put immediate pressure on the proceedings.

The Chattanooga 3 freedom campaign made heavy use of the Internet for communications and campaigns. The Houston chapter of Anarchist Black Cross Federation organized a "Million Mail March" for the Chattanooga 3, flooding city leaders with email, while San Francisco Indymedia kept people apprised of the case via its website and the email-based Emergency Response Network kept news flowing to street activists. This kind of instant communication helped to keep supporters up on happenings.

WIDE IMPLICATIONS

Police actions during the trial, which could later prove to be actions intended to prejudice the jury, represent a further abuse of power and a tactic other revolutionaries should be mindful of, and prepared to answer such implications in a clear and principled manner.

The case of the Chattanooga 3 was a significant one, however, in turning the tide Anarchists and revolutionary people of color have faced for some time. Many more cases have yet to be heard, but it's important for us to stay mobilized and ready to speak out.

(see page 7 for more on the case)

Please feel free to Contact Ernesto at PO Box 667233, Houston, TX 77266-7233 or may19@pdq.net.



Support demo for the Chattanooga 3 in Montreal

ably alleged "terrorist" Osama bin Laden. Despite jurors stating they had heard the incident, the judge refused to grant a mistrial and Komboa, McGee or Muhammad could still be secretly indicted by a grand jury for conspiring with the still-unknown man to bring the gun and bullets into the courtroom. Under state law, the district attorney has until Jan. 10, 2002, to charge them.

Komboa said that he expected Stern to give him the maximum prison sentence for disruption, six months, and was surprised that he received a lighter suspended sentence.

Clearly, the movement working hard on the Chattanooga 3 case represents a wonderful victory. The very real possibility the Chattanooga 3 could have served time was on the horizon, and all justice-minded people should learn lessons from this case and how we won.

A DIFFERENT STORY

In the last 18 months, the Anarchist movement has seen its share of legal defeats and sentencing of activists. And, while the Chattanooga 3 victory is a mixed one, with a guilty verdict and ultimately a sentence, what lessons can we learn from this defense?

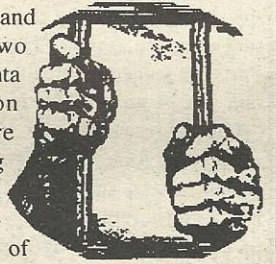
First, it should be noted that the case was clear-cut in that organizers were quick to frame a message of what the case was about, what the stakes were and what sympathizers needed to do. Efforts were geared at making this more than Black-anarchists-under-attack, but of building a broader campaign focusing on issues of police brutality, free speech and police racism. This helped in breaking from the usual circles and to progressive youth and activists of color. This helped build the profile of the case.

CA Activists Targeted by Feds

Two Face Federal Charges

By Matt Whyte

Matt Whyte and Peter Schnell, two activists from Santa Cruz arrested on January 23rd are currently facing serious federal charges for the alleged possession of materials that could be made into "destructive devices." In fact, the materials the arresting officers concede the charges are based on are nothing more than a can of gas, some gallon jugs, and, horror of all horrors, birthday candles!



If this case weren't so disturbing it would be laughable. Local media reports suggest that the reason the case was transferred to federal court was because it's only at the federal level that possession of these materials might be considered a crime (because they could potentially be made into some sort of molotov cocktail type incendiary).

In fact, the charges filed against Matt and Petey are designed to require that firearms and destructive devices be registered. The idea that this should be extended to make it a major felony to possess gasoline, birthday candles and water jugs is absurd.

If Matt and Petey did not have a history of protesting, it seems highly improbable they would still be facing charges. In addition to citing their alleged possession of a can of gas, water jugs, and birthday candles, the police report actually includes photos of the other "evidence" found in the young men's car. Amongst the more interesting items seized and photographed are a wrapper from a Tropical Source chocolate bar, a flyer to an upcoming forum on the prison industrial complex, and a map of Santa Cruz.

In order to fight these outlandish charges and provide adequate support for these two young men, money for their lawyers is urgently needed. Checks can be made out to Santa Cruz 2 Defense Fund and sent to:

Santa Cruz 2 Defense Fund

PO Box 917

Santa Cruz, CA 95006

For updates on the case contact the support team at the above address or via email at: sc2fund@hotmail.com

The FBI's Campaign Against Activism in Indiana

THE CASE OF FRANK AMBROSE

By Bloomington Defense Committee

WHO IS FRANK AMBROSE?

Frank Ambrose is a community activist from Bloomington, IN involved with several groups, such as Earth First!, Industrial Workers of the World, Speak Out for Animals, and the American Lands Alliance. He is employed by the latter forest protection organization, and has been one of the foremost forest activists in the Midwest. His commitment to people's struggles and the environment they depend upon has made him a prime target in the government's attempts to silence the activist community.

He was arrested on Jan. 25, 2001 and is being charged with a tree-spiking in a local State Forest that was claimed by the Earth Liberation Front. Tree-spiking is a Class "D" felony which carries a sentence of up to three years in prison and up to a \$10,000 fine. This is the first arrest in the US in relation to ELF actions that have caused over \$37 million in damages to businesses profiting from the destruction of the environment.

The harassment of Frank and his family began last February when FBI and ATF agents began visiting him and others to question them about a recent ELF action in Bloomington.

In July, the FBI and State Conservation Officers raided Frank and Marie Mason's (his wife) house looking for implements of tree-spiking, and came away with literature, address books, photo albums and miscellaneous household items like spray paint and a pocketknife. The authorities said they would find someone to "rat" on Frank, and come back with an arrest warrant.

Now, the FBI and State Conservation Officers are using circumstantial evidence to frame Frank for the tree-spiking incident. They are making Frank and others who take confrontational, but legal, approaches to stop exploitation defend themselves in court for their views. Frank has done nothing more than be vocal and willing to put his body on the line to stop the logging program (he was a part of a takeover of a State Forest office during a timber bid).

It is believed that the authorities are entering into the legal arena with a "low-pitch" to make it more likely to get a conviction. With a conviction, they would have a name to place with the elusive ELF, and then they might move to add federal anti-terrorism charges, or try to pin other ELF actions in the Bloomington area on him.

We must fight this battle in every way possible. Frank needs a good criminal defense attorney to beat the charges. The activist community needs to stand united and show the authorities that we will not be scared into silence. We need to increase the number of effective campaigns that have made the capitalist interests take notice in the first place. We must show those who view life as a commodity to exploit that we are not going away no matter what they do to us; we are in this battle to win.

Frank's arrest is part of the FBI's modern day witch-hunt to destroy the growing movement against globalization and earth's destruction. They see the movement that has been growing exponentially since the WTO protests in Seattle as a significant threat to the existing power structure. This arrest is larger than just a disruption of the Bloomington community: the FBI is also working with other law enforcement agencies across the country to use trumped up charges and threats of significant jail time against

activists to make people afraid to join the movement.

They want the movement to stop. The FBI is acting as the armed mercenary of the corporate world order, protecting their "right" to destroy all that is living. We all must resist their efforts and push forward.

WHAT CAN I DO?

1. We need to continue with the work that we have been doing. We must take direct action to confront and prevent the corporations from continuing down their current path of destruction.
2. Political trials and criminal defense takes considerable money. Please donate what you can to help pay for the legal fees of the trial. The costs of Frank's trial are estimated to be several thousands of dollars. All money raised will be used in Frank's defense, not to keep the lawyers working. It is important that he can mount a good defense to beat the charges and avoid further federal charges. Please send donations to:
Bloomington Defense Committee
PO Box 3503
Bloomington, IN 47402
3. Call the court at 812-349-2534 and tell them to drop the charges. Be polite and think of what you say: these messages will be noted in the trial.
4. Write a letter to the editor of your local paper explaining how the government is attempting to stifle protest and break apart communities that care about the earth. Please remember that these letters may show up in the trial, so think about what you say.
5. Sign up for the email/phone alert list. Write to defensecommittee@yahoo.com, or call 812-333-0173.

Brutal police dispersal of antifascist protest in Prague

Prague — 100 riot troopers and 20 plain cloth policemen brutally dispersed an antifascist demonstration in Prague on Feb. 4, injuring at least two and arresting more than 15 people, using truncheons and dogs. This action was targeting the fascist "Patriotic Republican Party," a subject of stealth takeover by militant fascist groups "National Alliance" and "National resistance."

Some 80 Anarchists/anti-fascists, gathered on Kubanska square in Prague to protest against this event, marking dangerous process of unifying and strengthening of the Czech fascist movement. The rally was organized by Czech AFA (Anti-fascist Action) and also FSA-IWA members actively participated with slogan banners like "It begins with patriotism, it ends with holocaust," "No right to exist for fascist organisations."

Police units attacked immediately as the rally came closer to the conference building. Police action was so swift and aggressive that no orders to "peacefully disperse" were given. Antifascists fought back until more police reinforcements arrived, causing tactical retreat. Police then chased antifascists in the whole city quarter Vršovice and the commanding officer gave the order to "arrest as many as possible." At least one activist had his head injured and is currently in the hospital, two others were badly beaten during arrest. Majority of activists arrested were women.

Earth Liberation Front Burns Research Cotton Gin

Visalia, CA — On February 20, 2001, the Earth Liberation Front burned a research cotton gin at the facilities of Delta & Pine Land Co in Visalia. The anti-GE direct actionists stated in their communique that the D&PL continues to pursue its "Terminator technology" despite global opposition to the genetic engineering of plants to produce sterile seeds. The communique continues: "Engineering a suicide sequence into the plant world is the most dangerous new technology since nuclear power and needs to be stopped. We chose this warehouse because it contained massive quantities of transgenic cottonseed in storage. But now, this seed will no longer exist to contaminate the environment, enrich a sick corporation, or contribute to its warped research programs." This action by the ELF comes after a quiet winter of no direct actions against genetic engineering. Since November 1998, there have been over 40 anti-genetic direct actions in North America. The direct actionists maintain that biotechnology is completely unnecessary and is being developed at the expense of human and ecological health solely to increase the profits of large multinational corporations. It is expected that with the upcoming growing season, direct actions against facilities producing and testing genetically engineered organisms will resume.

New Developments in Mumia's Case: A Critical Time

Political-prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal fired his lawyers in the first week of March. This year marks the 19th year of his imprisonment, as well as a pivotal time in his appeal process.

In order to best strategize and plan for how to help support Mumia in this crucial time period, International Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu Jamal have called for an organizer's conference March 30-31st in Washington DC.

For more information, see www.mumia.org or www.indymedia.org

On the Medicalization of Women's Bodies

By Alanna Stitches

"It's strange how women's issues always center around the body. Health, sex, reproduction, sexual identity. Men have bodies, too. Why do they always get to ignore theirs?"

Just try to ignore your female body — you'll be reminded of it by the comments of passing strangers on the street, or even colleagues in the workplace. If you take advantage of their interest and use your body to make a living, you violate legal and social sanctity.

If sex is the only thing we're valued for, what kind of freaks are we when sickness strikes our sex organs? Just cram your body into the right mold, and the fashion industry promises dubious happily ever afters.

Our natural states, from menstruation to menopause, have been treated as embarrassing disorders, labeled "female complaints." No wonder little girls are ambivalent about joining this club.

In the intricate dance between body and mind, our bodies evoke sexism, and sexism threatens our health. Studies on heart disease showed that doctors treated women's complaints with less urgency than men's. Laws about women's bodies are in the front line of social control from Afghanistan to Washington DC. Rape is the warrior's universal expression of dominance over his enemy, and rape is always invoked as a justification for war.

This lively mud we walk around in, miraculously infused with life, superimposed, but not inseparable from our selves, let's make peace with it. Whether we operate these bodies at a profit or a loss, for reproduction or for pleasure, or to transcend them, we'll need them in good health."

—From the Editors, *World War Three Illustrated* #26, *Female Complaints: Gutsy Comics about Women's Health and Occupational Hazards*

I've always felt I should know more about my body. I must have read my mother's copy of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* cover to cover a dozen times before I was even fifteen years old. Every unfamiliar word I came across I looked up. I asked questions, but a lot of them no one seemed to be able to or want to answer. "Why do we use things we are told can clearly harm us? Why do we not seem to have other options? Why are we simply told 'cure' and told nothing of healing?" People — doctors, nurses and parents alike — do not discuss these issues, I learned quickly. Every month through middle and high school I spent a day curled up in the nurse's office with painful menstrual cramps. Someone would give me ibuprofen and avoid talk about it; "it's just something we have to deal with, the woman's curse," I was told by one nurse in the sixth grade. And I grew sick and tired of feeling sick and lost.

I decided I needed to do something in some form, learn and attempt change through educating myself since no one else seemed willing. "What's this girl want to know this stuff for anyway? Health care knowledge is for health care professionals." It all seemed a little fishy. It all seemed too mysterious, like being told to get a pelvic exam when I just want to know what symptoms of something are. Apparently, asking questions means I'm probably sick, not just wanting information. Why do they want me to take these little tiny, neatly packaged (mysteriously packaged similarly to makeup compacts, so to better conceal them) pills? They won't tell me a whole lot about it in the first place except "honey, believe me, they'll make

your life easier"? Not "these are the risks" along side being informed of benefits. Words like "regulate" replace the truthful "these will completely change your natural cycle." And then a simple "well, pills ARE an artificial hormone" as explanation to why our bodies grow unhealthy or unbalanced. I learned that, for the most part, health care professionals have and keep power over women's bodies and lives by withholding information. Coincidentally, most medical doctors and those who teach most forms of western medical practices are men, thus keeping men in general in a position of power over women. Most of the people who work with or for these men must in some form submit to them as the uppermost authorities on all healthcare issues. Most of the people who work with or for these men received their own training from the same patriarchal medical system as the male doctors themselves, have little information about true health or preventative care, and virtually no voice, therefore leaving little space to make change within the current medical system.'

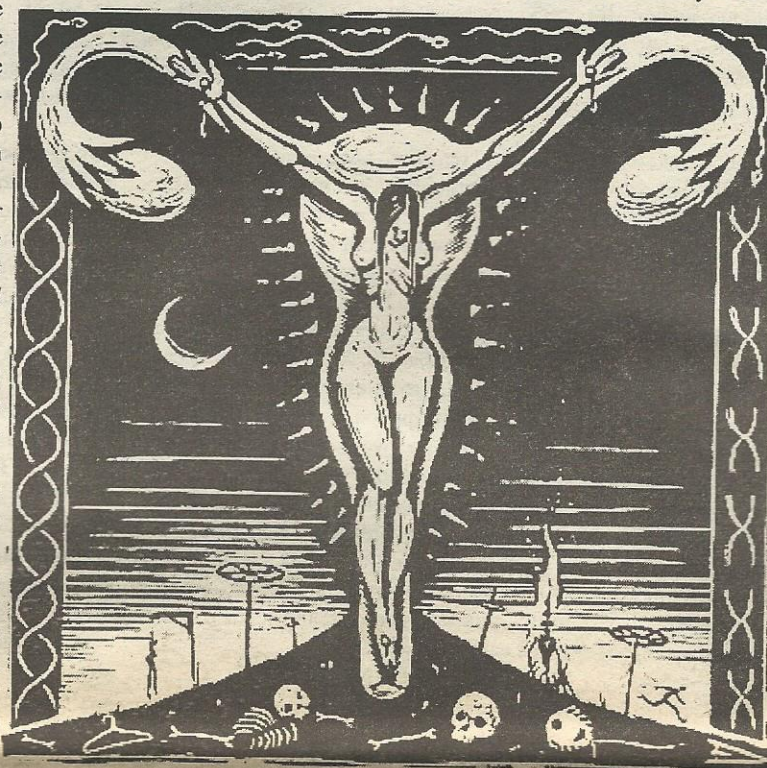
When we are given information about our bodies or health, we are simply told right and wrong, normal and abnormal. Even the most rebellious among us are subservient to our doctors because we do not hold the keys to their sciences. We do not hold the monetary backing we are led to believe is necessary to learn their "professional skills." We are ultimately taught not to question the "professional's" health-related authority — even if we strive to live without certain authority — carrying roles in our lives. This is a

continuous cycle throughout our life-spans.

All aspects of women's health and rights are inherently tied together, from education to history, menstruation to menopause, general reproduction and birth control issues, to pregnancy, abortion, and birth. The more information and education about women's bodies and reproductive cycles withheld from women, the less say they have in the medical practices they are to undergo, and the less say they have in their own health and lives. The medical system today is the keeper and guardian of reproductive technology. When we demand the reins of control over our bodies be let free, we are making that demand above all else to the medical system. This is held strongly in the debate over abortion rights.

Women's health centers providing abortion services are bombarded nationwide by those who do not agree with or approve of abortion. These centers are picketed, threatened, and blockaded by anti-abortionists. Those who believe in women's inherent right to have the freedom to choose abortion counter-protest. With a closer look, the anti-abortionists in positions of power need to be counter-protested constantly, those who align with those in governmental power, and particularly those who are of distinct, licensed medical background. The anti-abortionists outside those clinics may make access more difficult, but the necessary services are still available and will not be budged by the presence of protest itself. These medical experts who take women's health and reproductive rights out of the hands of women, claiming those rights for themselves, taking power from and over women, and making claim to their right as medical professionals to state whether, when or how women should have children — these are the ones to be protested. They are the higher authority, those who carry the power over what decisions can or cannot be made about women's bodies. What if those who authorized medical licensing refused to continue licensure of those practicing abortion, if the struc-

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Free Imam Jamil Al-Amin!

From *Nation Time: The Voice of the New Afrikan Liberation Front*
PO Box 340084, Jamaica NY 11434,
editor@nalfnationtime.com

For today's generation, the acid test of white america's "justice and democracy" was when George W. Bush murdered Shaka Sankofa, an innocent Black man. George W's record as a serial killer in Texas helped him mightily at the polls among the multitude of racists in this country.

The u.s. government conspiracy to execute another innocent brother, Imam Jamil Abdul Al-Amin, aka H. Rap Brown, was hatched to appease the bloodlust of the white right, and they conceived this premeditated crime as a practical necessity, as Imam Jamil is the type of leader the oppressed need.

We must destroy the state's current, leading strategy of stopping the flow of information on the case by imposing a gag order on the lawyers and the defendant. The state's excuse for this first amendment violation was that public information on the case would influence potential jurors. The gag order came down after the prosecution stated its lies loudly in the media, with the intention of influencing the jurors before trial.

Problems developed rapidly in the assassination plot when a Sheriff's deputy released an

audiotape of the wounded officer Aldranon English's words at the scene of the shooting. He said, "I just shot him. He's 5'6". He's headed toward Ralph David Abernathy Blvd." Imam Jamil is 6'5". English claimed that there was a trail of the shooter's blood, beginning at the 'crime' scene. When the Imam was captured four days later on March 20th, in Lowndes County, Alabama, where he organized voter registration drives in the 1960s, he did not have any wounds on his body. There were no bruises that would have appeared if he had been hit while wearing a bulletproof vest. A 911 tape of a caller's observation of a bleeding man on Ralph David Abernathy Blvd. begging motorists to give him a ride shortly after the shooting, has not interested the state's investigators.

During the initial police interviews, the wounded officer could not offer a description of the man who allegedly shot him and killed his partner, Deputy Richard Kitchen, but after suggestions by the police, he identified the Imam. Later, he stated, "I'll never forget the killer's gray eyes." Imam Jamil's eyes are brown.

Imam said that the police brought the guns to Alabama, that he didn't have any. The police claim he shot at them several times before his capture, but the residents of Whitehall, Alabama, where he was captured, heard no shooting.

There have been three assassination attempts against Imam Jamil in the past by bringing false charges against him and conducting a fruitless five year investigation. In 1995 the police tried to have a witness falsely identify him after a young drug dealer was shot in the park near the Imam's mosque. The victim admitted that the police pressured him to identify Al-Amin.

Today, the arm of white power is wearing a black hand, as the police, district attorney and the Black petit bourgeois slanderers are all black. This must not confuse us or take us off point. We must stand up and fight for the Imam.

More than 70 supporters packed an Atlanta courtroom Friday, Jan 19th to hear Al-Amin proclaim his innocence. The trial date is set for October, with jury selection slated to take up the month of September.

We must break the gag order and distribute the facts about his situation, and demand they drop the phony charges immediately.

A legal defense fund has been established to cover the costs of what is expected to be a lengthy and expensive defense of Al-Amin. **Imam Jamil Al-Amin Legal Defense Fund**
547 West End Place, SW
Atlanta GA, 30310
(770) 521-5386 ImamJamil@hotmail.com or imamjamildefense@marktoob.com

Farmworkers, Students Take On

By Dan Berger

Members of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, a bottom-up grassroots farmworkers' union, and students from across the state of Florida are forming powerful coalitions in a fight against Taco Bell, one of the largest corporations to use tomatoes picked from Immokalee.

"This is truly an historic moment in the movement for farmworker rights in Florida," said Lucas Benitez of CIW. "We are joining forces with students from across Florida, students who have made their voices heard as consumers throughout the world. Students who have exercised the force of their moral outrage at sweatshop conditions in the apparel industry on companies as powerful as Nike, and have won significant reforms in the process. Students, who are Taco Bell's target market, and who will not stand by while we as farmworkers continue to toil in sweatshops right here in Florida's fields."

Starting the first weekend of February, members of CIW began the "Taco Bell Truth Tour" which consisted of visiting Taco Bells in five different cities on five consecutive weekends. Each stop on the tour featured teach-ins on the situation in Immokalee followed by mass marches and protests outside Taco Bell. Protests had anywhere from 100 to 250 people, and received national news attention, including ABC news.

Despite Immokalee being the largest farming community in the state of Florida's \$600 million tomato industry, workers have been making about 40 cents per 32-pound bucket of tomatoes since 1978. The protests and boycott are CIW's attempt at being a part of the process to set wages and improve working conditions. If Taco Bell were to raise the price of a chalupa 1/4 of a cent — and give that money to the workers — they would more than double the workers' salary. Taco Bell

has yet to respond.

"Taco Bell's tremendous global profits are based on cheap ingredients for the food they sell, including cheap tomatoes picked by farmworkers in Florida making sub-poverty wages," Benitez said. "We as farmworkers are tired of subsidizing Taco Bell's profits by accepting starvation wages for our labor. We are organizing today to take back what is rightfully ours — a fair wage for the hard and dangerous work we do."

Taco Bell, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Pizza Hut comprise Tricon Global Restaurants, Inc., the world's largest restaurant system. Tricon made nearly \$22 billion in 1999, with Taco Bell contributing \$5.2 billion of that. Farmworkers in Immokalee — almost completely Latino, Black and indigenous — make less than \$7,500 a year.

"When you look at the difference in power between us as farmworkers and Taco Bell as a billion dollar corporation, you may think we are crazy for taking them on," said Romeo Ramirez, also of the Coalition. "They have all the money and political power, and we have only one weapon. But that weapon — the truth — is the most powerful thing on earth, so we are certain that we will prevail."

CIW is asking supporters to, in addition to boycotting Taco Bell, contact the Taco Bell corporation and share your outrage over the farmworkers' conditions.

Emil J. Brolick, President and Chief Concept Officer, Taco Bell Corp.
17901 Von Karman
Irvine, California 92614
tel. (949) 863-4500

Also, if possible, organize a solidarity action against Taco Bell in your area.

Beyond the Taco Bell campaign, CIW is fighting for, among other things: a fair wage, more

respect from bosses and the industries, better and cheaper housing, stronger laws and stronger enforcement against those who would violate workers' rights, the right to organize on our jobs without fear of retaliation, and an end to the abuse of undocumented workers. Among CIW's many accomplishments include: the establishment of a highly successful consumer cooperative, providing staple foods at nearly wholesale prices and breaking the hold of the traditionally overpriced local market; a growing, active, multi-ethnic membership base; weekly radio programs reaching thousands of workers in both Spanish and Haitian Creole; an innovative program of education and leadership development including participatory video, street art, popular theater, and community festivals; work-stoppages, marches and protests against violence in the fields by crew leaders; historic marches; hunger strikes and much more!

As a bottom-up union, CIW strives to build their strength "as a community on a basis of reflection and analysis, constant attention to coalition building across age-old ethnic divisions, and an ongoing investment in leadership development to help workers from the base continually develop their skills in community education and organization."

Contact CIW at: PO Box 603, Immokalee FL 34143, (941) 657-1776 or (941) 657 8311, CoaImmWkr@aol.com, www.ciw-online.org



photo from www.ciw-online.org

Over 250 people protested against Taco Bell in St. Petersburg on Feb. 18, 2001

IS THE CHATTANOOGA 3 CASE OVER?

By Lorenzo Komboa Ervin for the Chattanooga 3

The trial and sentencing phase of the Chattanooga 3 case is over, and there was a partial victory when we were not sentenced to jail time, or so it would seem. But don't believe that they have done us any favors. Things are not as simple as they seem: we could still go to jail. First, although there was no jail time rendered, as a result of the worldwide protest campaign, the state did order a fine and court costs for each defendant (around \$500-1000). We refuse to pay this, (in fact cannot), and have already been told in letters from the Criminal Court Clerk to each of us, that our cases have been re-submitted to the District Attorney and we will soon be hauled into court to face re-sentencing. I do not think they will be successful; I merely mention that they might try to "take back" the sentences to pressure us to drop the appeals.

For Damon McGee, he will still face the question of what effect the sentencing will have on his future ability to go to law school and practice law. He has always wanted to be an activist "people's lawyer" in the Black community, the kind that existed in the 1960's in support of the civil rights and Black power movements. Although he has no criminal record, he is still being criminalized for protests against police brutality in Chattanooga. In his recent court appearance, he defiantly demanded the right to put into the court record that the reason for the protests and his arrest was because of the police murders of numerous persons in Chattanooga, and began to read the names of about 40 persons who have died in custody. He was prevented by the judge, but his written documentary testimony was placed in the record. The same happened to me when I complained about the denial of our right to speak before sentencing, and thus all of this was introduced, and each spoke of why we deserved no sentence at all. Mikail was especially effective at presenting his case before the judge, and we followed his lead.

We still do not know if the Hamilton County District Attorney's office will bring conspiracy charges against us for "conspiring" with an undercover operative to bring a gun and ammunition into court during the trial. The government has an entire year to indict us on these charges, which is a much more serious felony. We do not know at which stage this is developing: whether a local police investigation or before a grand jury, but it hangs over our heads like the Sword of Damocles to lop off our heads. We need for you to send letters of protest to the District Attorney demanding that he drop his frame-up plans and arrest the one who

actually brought the gun into the court himself.

We intend to appeal the case, but we need new counsel because the court-appointed trial attorneys do not want us to appeal the convictions and further challenge the constitutionality of the statutes. We are working on that now, but it costs money, so we must conduct a fundraising drive.

Where we're at now: (1) **NEW TRIAL:** The attorneys are supposed to be filing a motion for new trial within the next few days to get Judge Stern to rescind her previous ruling and the jury verdict. Then there should be a hearing on the matter, usually they are not granted, but sometimes who knows? Let her hear from you. Please send letters to Judge Rebecca Stern, via her Criminal Court Clerk, Gwen Tidwell, at: CriminalClerk@exch.hamiltontn.gov, urging her to grant a new trial and protesting the January criminal trial. (2) **E-MAIL PROTESTS:** Please continue to write letters to Bill Cox (and his DA's who prosecuted the case), expressing your outrage over the frame-up trial where our rights were systematically violated, and that he drop all further criminal charges. Bill_cox@hcdatn.org, and also to: Dean_Ferraro@hcdatn.org, and Mary_moore@hcdatn.org (3) **MONEY:** We need funds to continue to fight this case, for printing of brochures, to hire an appeals specialist attorney to argue before the Criminal Court of Appeals and Supreme Court, to continue to post bond, and pay these fines [if there is no other way!]. So please send whatever money you can to: Account #7515108434, Old Kent Bank, 4705 W. Main street, Kalamazoo, MI 49006.

This is not about the period of time we face, or our actual sentence, it is about the danger of a government statute that can punish activists with six months in prison and \$500 fine for each instance of protest they don't like by merely labeling it a "disruption." Even the Ku Klux Klan can have us arrested for a counter-demonstration. We said, and it has come to pass, that if they could do it to us and get away with it, then other states would use it as a tool to put down political protests, and lo and behold, throughout the year 2000, several hundred activists have been charged with such offenses as a result of protests at the Democratic and Republican national political conventions, and other protests all over the US. The arrests for illegal assembly are supposedly in violation of the national constitution, but like all governments do, they are used to silence political critics. These are *thought control* crimes.

We need your help. Over the course of the last 30 months, many thousands have heard of our case, and sent letters on our behalf, now we need you to keep it up, and let others know about the case. For updated information, please contact: <http://sf.indymedia.org/lke.php3> Love and struggle.

NEWS BRIEFS

Students Fast for End to US Support of Burma's Regime

Students at 56 universities across the United States fasted for 24 hours on March 6th in protest against US corporate and university support for Burma's military regime.

"We demand our universities stop doing business with companies operating in Burma," said Katie Ryan of the Free Burma Coalition chapter at North Carolina State University. "Desmond Tutu and others have called Burma the next South Africa and it is time our universities divest and refuse to purchase from US companies operating in or with Burma."

The fast comes after a *New York Times* article on March 1st exposed the links between garment/apparel exports to the US and Burma's ruling military regime. A few senators have promised to introduce legislation calling to ban imports from Burma.

Students, however, aren't waiting for legislation. "Through its investments in UNOCAL oil company, the State of Virginia and the University of Virginia are still supporting slavery," says University of Virginia student Andrew Price. "This investment offends every value we are taught in our schools and universities."

In a tactic used successfully during the struggle to end South Africa's apartheid regime, students at several schools have already successfully pressured their universities to divest and refuse to purchase from companies operating in Burma.

Clothing companies JanSport, Kenneth Cole, and the Dress Barn all promised to cease sourcing from Burma late last year after student protest.

(For more information, see www.freeburmacoalition.org)

Massive Protests Against G8 Meetings in Italy

Thousands of activists gathered in Trieste, Italy on March 3rd, shadowed by squads of helmeted riot police, as a Group of Eight (G8) ministerial meeting unfolded.

The Italian authorities brought in around 3,000 police to barricade the streets surrounding a historic palace in the port where the environment ministers were meeting. Police dogs, teargas grenade launchers and dozens of buses and Land-Rovers, filled with backup police in full anti-riot gear, were held in reserve.

The march was noisy and good humoured, and there were no reports of violence. There was a brief moment of tension near the venue when a handful of protestors launched firework rockets into the sky and tossed a few coloured smokebombs over police to make their views known.

"There are the criminals, there are the people responsible," shouted an activist through a massive loudspeaker system, placed on the back of a truck.

The three-day G8 meeting ended Sunday, March 4th. The group comprises Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia and the United States.

Hunger Strike in Spanish Prison Against Torture

Spain — In Puerto I prison, 14 prisoners have been on hunger strike since Feb. 19 to protest the beatings and torture in Spanish prisons. On Feb. 12, prisoner Francisco Maduro Delgado was beaten by 13 jailers armed with sticks. He lost consciousness but did not receive medical attention. On Feb. 16, two more prisoners were beaten in that prison. In response to this routine practice of torture, a group of prisoners began a hunger strike in solidarity with their beaten comrades. The prisoners on hunger strike include prisoners in a special isolation system; the Basque prisoners collective, who also suffer from being a thousand kilometers from their homeland; and Francisco Maduro Delgado. They call for solidarity in the struggle against the brutal prison system from the outside.

Anarchism vs. Right-wing...

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are using it, ironically, to boost themselves into power and eliminate areas of government in a very selective manner. This is occurring while they actually increase the government's presence and spending in the areas of military, prison, and police. In the twisted ideology of the Right, hating that most dastardly of all enemies, the Federal Government, means hating, in reality, only certain, selective portions that interfere with the untrammelled operations of private corporate power, the parts that provide respite from wage slavery (such as Social Security or unemployment insurance), the parts that help underprivileged kids go to college, the parts that regulate workplace safety and restrict corporate polluters, and so on.

This is what "big government" is to them. "Big government" somehow does not include subsidies to the military industrial complex, subsidies to the prison industry, or bailouts to troubled mega-corporations and the banking industry. These are conspicuously off the radar screen of anyone who rails about the evils of "big government."

Now, historically, when Anarchists spoke of eliminating government, it was not a ploy to get into government and perpetuate the evil of it, as it is with our tough-talking Republicans. Hating government meant hating tyranny, authority, hierarchy, and domination. Anarchists were literally killed for thinking this way. "Hating government" now, however, seems to be code for hating things like affirmative action or Medicaid. It doesn't seem to mean hating police, war, or military. What it really means, in this era of doublethink, is loving government's most brutal and violent side, eliminating its social programs and increasing the power of the State.

HATE THE GOVERNMENT, LOVE YOUR COUNTRY

"I hate the government, but I love my country," is a sentiment you will hear a lot throughout the far Right these days. The underlying assumption is that the government has become overrun by a politically correct, neo-Socialist cabal that wants to punish the white man for his natural success, and reward the failures of ethnic minorities, gays, radical feminists, etc. This has led to the establishment of numerous "militias" by people who feel that the US is dangerously off course, and no longer the "land of the free and home of the brave," but in fact a virtual slave state at the beck and call of the United Nations, wealthy Jews, rich politicians (usually Democrat), and the like.

The goal of the right wing militias and those who have similar ideas is not to abolish authority, the tyranny of capital, or any other oppressive form, but rather to simply get the US "back on track." The American system is not fundamentally flawed, they say - it is just that those at the helm of the ship right now are steering it in an unpatriotic direction. Hating the government as it exists now, then, is the best way to express one's true patriotism.

In a 1995 interview conducted not too long after the bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City, MIT Professor Noam Chomsky summed up the situation in these words:

"[T]ake the angry white males who are maybe joining what they mistakenly call militias, [but which are actually] paramili-

tary forces. These people are angry. Most of them are high school graduates. They're people whose incomes have dropped maybe 20% over the last fifteen years or so. They can no longer do what they think is the right thing for them to do, provide for their families. Maybe their wives have to go out and work. And maybe they make more money than they do. Maybe the kids are running crazy because no one's paying any attention to them. Their lives are falling apart. They're angry. Who are they supposed to blame? You're not supposed to blame the Fortune 500, because they're invisible. They have been taught for 50 years now ... that all there is around is the government. If there's anything going wrong, it's the government's fault. The government is somehow something that is independent of external powers. So if your life is falling apart, blame the government."

"There's a reason why attention is focused on the government as the source of problems. It has a defect. It's potentially democratic. Private corporations are not potentially democratic.... [The militia movement] is not the kind of populism that says, 'Fine, let's take over the government and use it as an instrument to undermine and destroy private power, which has no right to exist.' Nobody is saying that. All that you're hearing is that there's something bad about government, so let's blow up the federal building."

Politicians advance their pro-corporate agenda by consciously manipulating the popular discontent with the state of things. Public anger can be channeled into a hatred of "big government programs" that big business wants to see dismantled anyway. For example, private insurance corporations would gladly step in and take over and administer the Social Security system. It was not

until workers began dying from starvation and holding mass riots that anything like Social Security ever got established, and ever since then it has been mercilessly targeted by corporations who see it as a barrier to their ability to expand markets. In

the logic of people on the Right whose campaigns are funded by big insurance companies, Social Security is a "big government program." So, hey, if you hate the government, elect me, and I'll eliminate government - I'll hand it over to private power.

This is, in effect, all that anti-government sentiment means to the Right - handing government functions over to democratically unaccountable private tyrannies. This isn't eliminating government, it is merely changing its nature.

Now, if a hatred of government were really a hatred of government, one would expect to see police forces slashed, jails and prisons torn down, laws that provide for the establishment of corporations eliminated, etc. This never occurs, because this is actually the part of the State the "anti-government" Right wants strengthened. As of the year 2000, more than 2 million Americans are in jail. At least 6.5 million are under some form of correctional supervision nationwide. This means 1 out of every 32 citizens are under some form of direct government supervision. And this means that the State is present in our daily lives to a degree unknown to any previous generation. Where are the anti-government populists who will rail against this? Answer: They are busy writing legislation to get "tough on crime" and make sure even more prisons are built, even more drugs are outlawed, even more money is given to law enforcement to increase the power of the State, and worse. No one seems to see the irony here. Far from wanting to eliminate the government, the Right wants to increase the powers of the State and roll back whatever civil liberties we may have remaining, and to abolish any sort of social safety nets that previous generations of workers fought to achieve.

Writer Tim Wise commented, "Amazing isn't it, that the same folks who view government so cynically when it comes to taxes, mail delivery, road construction, education, or health care, and insist the state is incapable of addressing these issues with equanimity and fairness, somehow find it possible to believe this same

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Medicalization of Women...

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tures within which medical professionals are taught refused to continue the teaching of abortion; it is ultimately these structures that hold so much of the power over our bodies.

The lack of education women have about their bodies in combination with the power potential educators hold over women's lives lead us to submit to whatever doctors say when sick. Medicine's primary contribution to the practice of sexism in everyday life has been to generally describe women as sick and as potentially sickening to men. White men have been upheld within medicine as the standard for true health. When this is diverted from, all else must then be in illness. When we get fed up and take our health into our own hands, we are told we are putting ourselves at risk. It seems to be a no win situation, but really, we are winning. Women are slowly destroying these pieces of sexist ideology that have led to the current medical standpoints of women in sickness and health - destroying the age-old ideas that women are inherently ill, weak, frail. Women are more actively involving themselves in health care professions and are redefining within medicine the models held of women in health and sickness - taking their bodies back into their own hands, healing themselves and other women in their communities. Women are challenging the principals throughout history that have censored or created difficulty in our participation in our own health care. They are destroying the myths medical science has held true about their bodies and health, placing their own best interests above those of the doctors; questioning doctors orders and viewing themselves primarily in health rather than illness. Women are unlearning the ideas which lead themselves to believe that all health and illness, strength and weakness within their bodies and lives is directly connected

with their reproductive organs, while simultaneously learning more extensively about their reproductive organs and health, and empowering themselves through that health. Women, slowly, are taking back their lives from the medical system.

¹ From 1930 to 1990 the percentage of women attending medical school increased only 32.6%, with the number of women of color attending medical school at that time being just above 5%. In 1990 only 20.7% of all instructors within medical schooling facilities were women, at an increase of only 7% since 1967, with only 4.7% being women of color. As of 1990, 84% of practicing physicians in any capacity were men, with 97% of all practicing nurses being female. Today, women make up only 21% of all practicing US doctors.

(Statistics from the Feminist Majority website, <http://www.feminist.org/default.asp> and the May 11, 1998 issue of *Medical Economics Magazine*.)

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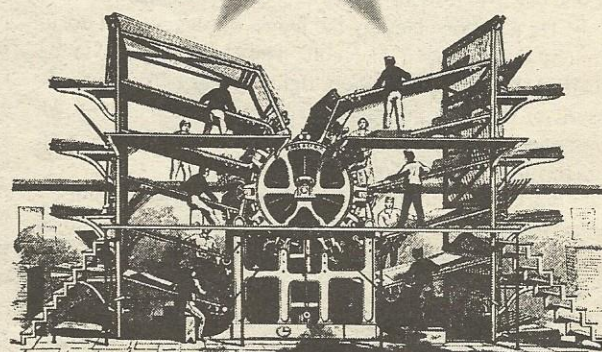
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♦ These and other pamphlets available through *What Your Mama Didn't Tell You* distro, a small distribution of information pertaining to women's health and radical women's issues and activism. Send stamps for a complete listing to Alanna Stitches, PO Box 2671 Gainesville, FL 32602. Alanna is a women's health activist and worker and a homebirth midwifery student in Gainesville, Florida.

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WEF Protest...

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gaggles of tents. The mood was industrious but a little pessimistic. The numbers were dangerously low to attempt the professed aim of the mobilisation – to blockade and disrupt the meeting. Stupendously outnumbered – there are several thousand security elements in Cancun – the 500 continued with their plans. Rubber inner-tubes were inflated and tied together to make mobile barricade defences. The Civil Disobedience group attempted to break through the Police cordon like the Ya Basta group at Prague, wearing white jumpsuits and fortifying their shoulders and arms with cushion and padding to protect from beatings, and taping on a variety of colourful helmets.

Others planned to enter the Convention Hotel from the beach, masquerading as tourists, as the main body of the march battled with the police on the main road. Militant Maoists held their own breakaway meeting, closed to outsiders. They have their own plans, disrupting the unity of the other groups. A corrosive assembly the previous night had revealed a serious division over property destruction vs. pacifist action.

The local newspapers had contributed to fueling the tensions with their sensational reporting, presenting the protesters as dangerous terrorists – ‘One version (of the police searches of the arriving buses) indicate that explosives were found, but this can be confirmed...’. Complete nonsense of course, and they forgot to inform their readers that the police also stole money and cameras from the buses.

FEROCITY AND ULTRA-VIOLENCE UNLEASHED

The 500 activists marched tentatively with much noise through the town. They arrived at a wide boulevard with a picturesque park between the two roads in and out of the Tourist Colony. An army of fortified police lines faced them behind two rows of solid metal fencing, thwarting the Civil Disobedience plan of pushing through the police lines armed with rubber tires – those metal fences were not moving. In the moment’s hesitation, the Maoists took the initiative, charging to the front and calling for a storming of the barricades. This tactic was fearfully doomed, and the main body of the demonstration re-grouped to reconsider strategy. The Maoists rushed the police lines full of thunder and fury while the cops laughed. Their ‘assault’ on the barricades faltered a couple of meters short and a stand-off for an hour resumes as both sides exchanged insults and an occasional stick flies or a baton is swung. The Press horde crowded around with enthusiasm. Tourists stopped to watch. A group of nude protesters dissolved the minor tension with their antics in front of the police, and the protesters decide to stage a sit-down protest to block both sides of the road. After an hour or so, the traffic is held up for miles. All the tourists were left waiting and infuriated.

Meanwhile, a group of 30 had infiltrated the beach up to the Hotel where the forum was held where they were violently apprehended by a large contingent of riot cops and bundled off to jail.

As the Civil Disobedience group began to leave, and the majority of people were now sitting around the park tired from the hot sun and dehydration, the mood had become almost festive as a few hundred tourists and the press core waited around for the next spectacle. Suddenly, the barricades opened up.

With unbridled ferocity, riot squads, hundreds of them, came storming out full sprint swinging wildly and indiscriminately at everyone in their path. First to be pummeled was the isolated group left sitting on the road. The still afternoon air became filled traumatically with screams of panic and pain, and a horrific battle-cry of the marauding cop gangs as they beat their shields. People fled hopelessly in every direction as the maddened thugs pursued them relentlessly. It was simple savage punishment.

Scenes of utter vomit-inducing brutality ensued. A cop beat a helpless youth on the ground with a 3-meter pole while others cops delivered carefully aimed blows to the youth’s head with their batons and boots. A silent couple clutched each other uselessly as a gang of thugs severely beat them. People with video and still cameras were also singled out for beatings. Most blows were aimed at the people’s heads. The Civil Disobedience group, encumbered with their absurd rubber tires, were singled out for special punishment, while the Maoist contingent abandoned their militant posturing to flee frantically. A few valiant ones went in defence of their bloodied companeros, and were beaten heavily for their impudence. Some paltry stones flew and was met with tear gas. The air filled with the poisonous fumes. The people fled in utter pandemonium. Heavily injured people were carried through the gas clouds.

The beatings went on and on, the cops frantically seeking fresh victims, or else any vanquished body languishing on the ground would do. The blare of ambulances interrupted the din of violence. The rout was complete. The Neo-liberals had triumphed heroically, their mercenary soldiers delighted with their crusading victory, their little slaughter of the activists on this sunny afternoon outside the Tourist Colony.

THE RESURGENCE OF THE STRUGGLE

Images of the ultra-violence flashed across the television networks. Newspapers were filled with powerful photos of police violence under headlines of “Brutality! Police Riot!” and “Cowards And Savages.” The resignation of the Police chief was demanded. Trolleys filled with food arrived at the protesters’ encampment as they bandaged up their wounds and searched to locate the 65 prisoners and the 15 hospitalised about whom the police would release no details. Locals rallied in support and warned



photo from www.chiapas.indymedia.org

protesters of new police movements. A solidarity demonstration was organised in the Capital. Even with small defeats, the movement grows.

Popular pressure helped ensure the prisoners release, and condemnation of the police came from every quarter, even, opportunistically, from government deputies and local representatives. A demonstration was called in front of the Town Hall. Not one uniformed cop appeared. They were withdrawn in disgrace. The authorities faltered under an avalanche of criticism and the journalists organised their own protest against the police brutality. Fox remained silent, his image tainted. The World Economic Forum finished up without a peep and the Neo-Liberals hurried away from Cancun without releasing their usual celebratory communiqués. But, no doubt, business continued as usual.

The protesters mockingly charged the undefended Town-Hall, as if to say – Look! We’re still here! The message was clear: even if they batter us off the streets, we won’t go away. Cancun is a watershed for the movement. New strategies and tactics will emerge, and the Neo-liberalism continues to retreat under pressure.

Contact the author at ramorx@hotmail.com

Anarchism...

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state can dispense justice, and even the ultimate punishment [of death], without a hint of impropriety, bias, or error.” The ultimate goal of the Right is a strong police state. A merciless and unforgiving state that punishes swiftly and surely. A State that rewards patriotism and nationalism and punishes failure and disobedience. This isn’t eliminating the State. This is making the State ever more powerful.

THE SHAM OF RIGHT WING ‘ANTI-STATISM’

It’s clear that people are angry and dissatisfied with the way society operates. The Right has simply succeeded in capturing this anger, reflected it in their speeches, and capitalized on it to boost themselves into office. They play on ‘anti-government’ sentiment by privatizing, by handing the State’s power over to private corporations. This is what ‘eliminating government’ amounts to – placing it in the hands of CEOs and wealthy investors who can run it how they see fit, effectively removing it from the arena of potential democratic accountability. And when challenges come against those private corporations the State is there to protect it against the people. The actual power of the State is increased as the prisons swell and as the law clamps down harder on petty criminals. The State lets go of its responsibility and concentrates more heavily on its conglomeration of power.

Anarchists oppose the State because it is one of the principle expressions of authority and domination. Property, in the means of production, and in the means of subsistence, is likewise another authoritarian institution. States exist to protect these institutions and thus they largely serve as a defense mechanism for the rich against the poor. This does not mean workers might not become so unruly as to force some form of seemingly charitable concession from the State (such as OSHA), but in the end such concessions are employed to defuse outright revolutionary fervor. A wealthy man who owns vast amounts of land and who hates paying property taxes, and, due to his soreness, comes to have an intense dislike of the government, is not an Anarchist. An Anarchist is someone who recognizes that if it were not for the State such a man would not be able to exclusively own land to begin with, and would not be afforded legal protection (at public expense) for keeping it. He thus would not be able to exercise despotic rights over a given territory.

So it is that Anarchists ultimately agree with the classical liberal thinker Adam Smith – ironically held to be a great classical exponent of laissez faire capitalism – when he says that ‘Civil government, so far as it is instituted for the security of property, is in reality instituted for the defence of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all.’ The right-wing ‘anti-statists’ who might otherwise venerate Smith cannot bring themselves to admit this fact. While seeking to enable private power to run government institutions more openly, they do not undermine the State’s power but merely make sure it fulfills its classical role.

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Zapatista March...

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threats, and governors of some states have said they will not guarantee the protection of the delegation. The Zapatistas have called on civil society to be a witness and participant of the march, and over 100 organizations from all over the world have answered the call. Several members of Congress are also participating in the march, which began in the colonial capital of San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas, with a rally of over 20,000 masked Zapatistas from all over Chiapas coming together in the center of town, where Marcos gave a speech, which included the following: “For seven years we have resisted attacks of all kinds. They have attacked us with bombs and bullets, with torture and jail, with lies and slander, with contempt and forgetting. But we are here. We are rebel dignity. We are the forgotten heart of the Patria. We are the most first memory. We are the dark blood which illuminates our history in the mountains. We are those who struggle and live and die. We are those who say: ‘For everyone everything, for us nothing.’ We are zapatistas, the most small of these lands.”

It is of absolute necessity we spread of the news of the march and the ongoing situation in Chiapas, and that we voice our support for the Zapatistas and the passage of the Cocopa Law. For daily reports on the march, visit <http://www.narconews.org> For more information on the struggle in general, go to <http://www.ezln.org>. While it is in Spanish, there are excellent links to information in English.

“Brothers and Sisters: Those who are the government are laboring today to make this march the march of the lying peace. Those who govern are not alone in their lies. Along with them are the steps of those who want our steps dead and the color of the earth forever dead.

Along with them are those who will not allow any other color in the world which is not the color of money and its misery. He who is the government yells and flails much, his breath smells of lies, and he wants us to take the fear he teaches as our own. He wants to do us harm and to suck our strength. But it will be in vain. Along with all the colors, the flower we are of the color of the earth, will have a tomorrow, because it will have a flag. With it, and because of it, we, the Indian peoples, will, at last, have... Democracy! Liberty! Justice!

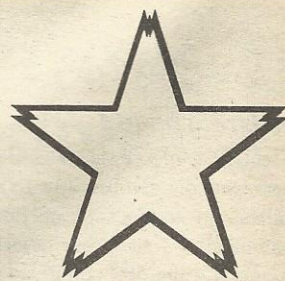
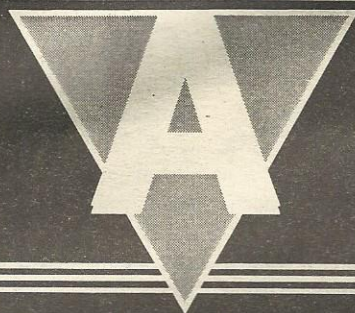
From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast. Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee - General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. Mexico, February 24, 2001, Flag Day.”



photo from www.chiapas.indymedia.org

Zapatistas answer questions from journalists about the march before it begins

QUEERS



CRUSHING

Anarquist!

By Wispy

Queer: adj. 1. Deviating from the expected or normal; strange 2. Odd or unconventional; as in behavior; Eccentric. Slang 1. To ruin or thwart: "They might try to queer the Games with anything from troop movements...to a bomb attack" (Newsweek)

BOYS, GIRLS AND THE REST OF US

Queerness is an identity, but it is far more than mere identity: it is the act of reclaiming our sexualities and genders from an intolerable regime of heterosexism and gender imperialism. All of our lives we are told how, when, where and with whom we should have sex. We've had the normative standards of gender shoved down our throats at school, work and play. We've been indoctrinated by far right ideologues who have convinced us that it's normal to feel guilt and shame for liberating our desires. In this world where sexuality and gender are presumed to be essential and predetermined, we witness a parade of tragedies. Young queers kill themselves rather than deal with the repercussions of coming out. Trannies are harassed and killed by cops and bigots. People suffer a life of repressed desire and internalized self-hatred because of their sexuality. What are we to do but stand up against their bullshit?

Our queer sexualities and genders are a positive refusal to take part in their heterosexist games. Our defense of ourselves against attacks, ideological, political, and physical, is the reaffirmation of that positive refusal to participate in a world that would rather we disappear or at least stay out of sight. Our sexuality and gender is playful, irreverent, and powerful. It celebrates ambiguity and evades certainty. It won't accept definitions other than of its own choosing, and its transgression recognizes only the boundaries of mutual respect and personal freedom. We are everywhere. We are queens, fags, gender queers, leather daddies, sissies, trans wo(men), stone cold dykes and non-monogamous networks of freedom fighters.

THE CONTINUUM OF VIOLENCE

In America, an atmosphere of repression and violence towards queers permeates many aspects of life. Investigative journalists reinforce the idea that queer men are sexual predators through media exposes on the danger of queer sex in public restrooms. Campaigns are mobilized nationwide to repeal any legislation that grants queer folks "special rights." Public schools refuse to acknowledge queer sexuality as legitimate, but instead reinforce toxic stereotypes. In this context, it's obvious that violence against queers is the result of a homophobic culture. Through jokes, ignorance, bigotry and fear a volatile atmosphere is created that sometimes discreetly, and often openly encourages people to exclude, demonize, harass, rape, and murder queers. Homophobic jokes were the staging ground for the brutal murder of Billy Jack Gaither. The casual dismissal and invalidation of someone's chosen gender helped justify the actions of the rapists and murderers who destroyed the life of Brandon Teena.

There is a continuum of violence in this society towards queers and trannies that manifests in similar ways towards women, people of color

Whose Liberation Are We Marching For?

By Angela Beallor

Last June, I attended the Pride march and festival in Columbus, Ohio. It was great to see so many people at these marches uninhibited by glares, jeers and potential violence. I went with my girlfriend and a good friend to express our want for a society where we can express our sexuality safely and without persecution. For myself, I do not just want a temporary autonomous zone once a year, or in my home, or at queer meetings where I can feel completely proud of who I am. I want to never be shameful of who I love, and I want all to live free from persecution and harm. But after the day's event, I was left wondering what people there really wanted.

At the end of the day, after performances by drag kings and queens, music, speeches and more, a speaker took the mike to read a "very special" statement of support. He then proceeded to read a letter in support of gay rights

from Al Gore. He then topped this off with a letter from Bill Clinton. As if that was not enough, a huge American flag was unfurled and the speaker called for everyone to recite the pledge of allegiance to this "great land!" I sat down in protest and watched as most of the crowd participated in this act of patriotism to this so-called "great land."

I saw something gravely wrong with this scene. A marginalized group of people, whose marginalization is not challenged by the United States government, whose marginalization is often enforced by the government, was pledging allegiance to its flag at an event organized to fly in the face of all that is anti-queer. Gone are the days of the Stonewall Rebellion. Gone are the days of solidarity statements in support of the Black Panther Party from the Gay Liberation Front. Gone are the days of radical lesbians. Today, gay liberation is to come through the Democratic Party. *Liberation through the Democratic Party?*

and the poor. It is the seemingly inconsequential acts and statements of bigotry and exclusion that set the stage for the more brutal and viscous acts of oppression, as clearly illustrated in the recent shooting up of a queer bar in Virginia. The bigot who carried out this attack was a man by the last name of Gay. His reasons were that he was angered at having endured a lifetime of harassment and jokes about his last name being 'Gay' so he went and attacked some queer folks. This might shed new perspective on the joke that is told in your workplace or the snide assumption someone makes at a party. Let there be no doubt that there's a war on. Our self-defense begins by creating an atmosphere in which bigotry and exclusion are not tolerated as a joke, ignorant belief, or attitude. It ends when we are physically and mentally capable of protecting ourselves and our loved ones from physical/political attacks and harassment.

From Identity to Subversion

We must see the struggle against heterosexism and gender imperialism as part of a larger struggle against hierarchy and oppression. As long as we live in a society that strips people of their power

Gay liberation has and will never come through the Democratic Party. Bill Clinton stopped even the mildest change – allowing out gays in the military. Not that I support anyone fighting for the United States government but it is symbolic that they will not even let openly queer people die for their causes. And need I remind anyone that Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage Act in 1997 to legally define marriage as a "union between one man and one woman"? The friendliness of the Democratic Party to queer peoples only goes so far.

We should not be surprised; if we are, we are suffering from collective amnesia. Has the Demo-

cratic Party ever meant liberation for anyone? Access to abortion has been stripped under the Clinton administration. Continuing where Bush left off, Clinton continued to wage imperialist wars over the globe. Globalization and unfair trade policies that harm people all over the globe continue, supported by both the Democrats and Republicans. The prison-industrial complex has been expanded exponentially with the help of both Democrats and Republicans. Clinton drastically cut the social safety net of welfare during his time in office. And where is the Democratic Party when people are being beaten, brutalized, and killed by the police? No matter how you look at it, the Democrats and the Republicans represent the same system: capitalism. This system thrives off of racism, sexism, class exploitation and homophobia and capitalism itself must be challenged to bring an end to all of these systems of oppression.

We need to introduce revolutionary, anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-sexist and pro-queer politics to pride marches by calling for revolutionary/radical, anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-sexist, pro-queer contingents at our pride marches this year. Organize one in your state — bring back the liberation struggle. Let's proudly march for the liberation of all people.

Since Pride marches are promoting the Democratic Party, not challenging capitalism, and have

to self determine their lives, we will remain 'the other.' We will always just be a few steps away from being shot, run out of our homes, or rounded up into concentration camps for re-education. When we display the pink triangle, it is our refusal to forget this ever-present reality. When we join in other's struggles against their forms of oppression we affirm our belief in equality and freedom not only for them, but for us as well.

When we join with others in a movement for social change as queers and gender freaks, we are transforming our identity into something more than just a lifestyle... something subversive and delicious. It is acceptable for the status quo that we live our lives marginalized and alienated in the queer ghettos, yet it's dangerous and hot when we link up with other communities in struggles for liberation and refuse to closet our insurrectionary hopes and our faith in radical social change. And since queer folks have always been perceived as dangerous and hot (think: hellfire) we might as well live up to our reputation!

Contact the author at Wispy@defenestrator.org

merely become temporary autonomous zones for queer expression, many might suggest that we abandon the marches. But to me, pride is *ours*! I love being in that atmosphere with all kinds of queer people, with all the pride. These marches should continue but we need to critically examine how they fit into our overall struggle for liberation. We need to make them a threat again.

I am not looking to march for assimilation; I am fighting for liberation. It is not about the freedom to choose which rainbow paraphernalia one can buy (if they can afford it), but the freedom to choose to express our mutual, respectful love to whoever it is – regardless of gender expression, sex or sexuality. I do not want the freedom to join in on imperialist bloodbaths fighting for the US military. Freedom does not come in a half-hour sitcom featuring a gay character on a television station that is union-busting, censoring the media, and building weaponry for the US military. We do not need more freedom for wealthy, white, *but* gay, men to join in on the exploitation and oppression of the world's people.

What about all the other queer issues? Like attacks on immigrants or police brutality or the continued colonization of Puerto Rico? Or how about the prison-industrial complex or sexual assault or the stealing of resources from Africa, South America and Asia by multinational corporations? How about poverty and labor exploitation and the oppression of women? To many, these are not queer issues. But these are human issues and our liberation as queer people is bound up in the liberation of all peoples from all forms of oppression. And, if you need a "queer face" to fight for, there *are* queer immigrants and queer victims of police brutality and queer people living in Puerto Rico or queer Boricuas in the United States and queers in prison and queers being raped and queers living in poverty and queer women and queer labor is being exploited. Instead of fighting for more equality for wealthy, white, gay, men to exploit and oppress, we should be fighting for equality for all people to live free from exploitation and oppression. This sure ain't going to happen with the Democratic Party and it ain't going to happen under capitalism.

We need to reclaim our pride! I am ashamed of these marches and many of the issues that are being focused on, but I am proud of being queer. I want to work for queer liberation but not without also fighting racism, sexism and class exploitation...

I have a suggestion, an exclamation, a call-to-action: We need to introduce revolutionary, anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-sexist and pro-queer politics to pride marches by calling for revolutionary/radical, anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-sexist, pro-queer contingents at our pride marches this year. Organize one in your state — bring back the liberation struggle. Let's proudly march for the liberation of all people.

Contact Angela if you're interested in issuing the call for Ohio, and look for their contingent at Columbus and Cleveland Pride. Angela Beallor, c/o Kent ABC-BG, PO Box 942, Kent, Ohio 44240, nojustice_nopeace@yahoo.com.



Queers for Racial and Economic Justice
listserve: qfref-subscribe@yahoo.com

“We can use our righteous anger to uproot the present oppressive system with its decaying and constricting ideology, and we, together with other oppressed groups, can start to form a new order and a liberated lifestyle.”

— GAY LIBERATION FRONT, 1971

CAPITALI\$M

REMEMBERING STONEWALL

The night that has gone down in history as the beginning of gay liberation began shortly before midnight on Friday, June 27, 1969, when police from Manhattan's Sixth precinct undertook a routine raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar on Christopher Street in the heart of New York's Greenwich Village. Such raids had been common procedure throughout the 1960's: gay bars, often operating without a liquor license, would be shut down, the patrons roughed up, sometimes arrested, their names printed in the newspapers, lives and careers casually ruined. It was simply another of the risks of being gay, and patrons put up with it because, clearly, they had no other recourse. In June, 1969, New York City was in the midst of a mayoral campaign, and the incumbent John Lindsay, having recently lost his party's primary, was looking for ways to bolster his image as a politician tough on “vice.” The Stonewall Inn was the third gay bar to be raided that week. Armed with a search warrant (the bar had no liquor license), the police made their entrance, questioned the patrons and released them one by one.

But instead of fleeing into the night, about 200 bar patrons, including Puerto Rican drag queens, street kids, and a few butch lesbians, lingered outside the bar. When the police escorted the

bartender, bouncer and three drag queens to the paddy wagon, the crowd responded with jeers. The last patron to be hauled out, a butch lesbian, put up resistance to the police who were trying to take her to a patrol car. All of a sudden, the scene exploded. The crowd hurled cobblestones, bottles, coins and garbage at the police. When the police retreated into the bar, the crowd tore a parking meter from the sidewalk and used it as a battering ram on the door. Flames appeared inside. Police reinforcements manage to rescue the beleaguered police, though four were injured. Rioting continued late into the night, with large crowds charging the police, then dispersing into side streets and alleyways to regroup later.

By the next morning, graffiti had blossomed throughout the

neighborhood. SUPPORT GAY POWER was emblazoned on the boarded-up window of the Stonewall Inn. That evening, the riots resumed, with fires breaking out all over the neighborhood, and over 2,000 gay men and lesbians battling 400 club-wielding riot police. It was, as historian John D'Emilio writes, “the first gay riot in history.” Lesbian historian Lilian Faderman puts what became known as the Stonewall Rebellion in context by observing, “The complaints of blacks,

students, and poor people, which had been raging through much of the 1960's, had finally ignited masses of homosexuals to articulate their own complaints. It is unlikely that a gay and lesbian riot could have occurred at any previous time in history. But if by chance it had occurred earlier, it is

unlikely that it would have come to have as much significance as it did in 1969. The gay liberation movement was an idea whose time had come. The Stonewall Rebellion was crucial because it sounded the rally for that movement. It became an emblem of gay and lesbian power. By calling on the dramatic tactic of confrontational protest that was being used by other oppressed groups, the events at Stonewall implied that homosexuals had as much reason to be disaffected as others. It reminded homosexuals at just the right moment, during this era of general rebellion, that now their voices might be heard among the cries for liberation.”

The Stonewall Rebellion had no identifiable “leaders.” Rather, it was the collective action of a community of individuals driven by years of oppression to finally take a stand of overt resistance to that oppression. Within a month after Stonewall, the Gay Liberation Front was established — a group as militant and bold as the old Mattachine Society had been cautious and politic. Within a year, dozens of gay liberation groups had formed across the nation. The queer revolution had begun, and mostly by working class, third world “effeminate” men and butch lesbians. The lives of gay men and lesbians would never be the same.



The Gay Rights Movement Goes to the Mall: Envisioning an Anarchist Alternative to Queer Political Co-optation

By Tom Thomson

Our dreams of liberation, our vision of a society free of homophobia and sexist oppression, have been quietly stolen by our well-connected, privileged leaders in the gay rights movement. In their place, we are handed an altogether different vision, that of a homogenous, affluent “Queer Nation” in which our identities and empowerment are commodities directly connected to our power as consumers, and through which we will all assume our rightful place at the table of the American dream. This goal is incredibly troubling, and not only because it has absolutely no grounding in the harsh realities we face in a capitalist political economy rigidly organized in along hierarchies of overlapping systems of control and repression. But how did a political and social movement with such revolutionary potential and radical beginnings go so completely wrong?

A quick overview of the guiding principles and strategies of the largest, most visible queer political organizations in this country, among them the Human Rights Campaign and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, is very instructive in charting the course of the movement's descent into harmless co-optation. With the simultaneous emergence of the AIDS epidemic and of the fundamentalist Christian backlash against queer empowerment in the early 1980s as its historical context, these prominent gay rights organizations have gradually adopted an “integrationist” approach that seeks to fully assimilate queer people into the American political and social environment. The foundations of this activist project are:

- Intensive lobbying of local, state, and federal governments, with the goal of gaining legal concessions such as the strengthening of hate-crimes laws, the passage of laws prohibiting anti-queer discrimination in employment and housing, and legal recognition of queer domestic partnership;
- Building alliances with liberal politicians and government officials in both the Democratic and, amazingly, the Republican parties;

- A campaign to convince the heterosexual majority that queer people are decidedly NOT deviants or a threat to prevailing notions of patriarchal social hierarchy—that we are “just like them”—

as a response to specific political provocations (the public relations efforts designed to oppose anti-queer ballot initiatives or laws, for example) and as part a broader cultural politics (the appearance of “normal” images of non-threatening, predominantly white and middle-class queer images in mass media entertainment programming).

Accordingly, the contemporary gay rights movement has avoided the opportunity to advance any substantive critique of either corporate capitalism or the power of the state. Instead, the movement has consciously chosen to align itself with the “progressive” factions of the State and corporate America in order, one presumes, to build and safeguard a political power base.

Judging this strategy strictly on the basis of its own logic and merits, the results are mixed at best. Do the victories won through non-confrontational, electoral activism really represent progress for the vast majority of queer people in this society? A variety of realities suggests that such efforts do not. The hate-

crimes laws and insurance benefits that constitute the focus of mainstream queer activism have done nothing to stem the dramatic increase in reported acts of homophobic violence. Nor has the growing public acceptance and marketability of queer celebrities served to effectively counteract the resurgence of well-funded reactionary anti-queer organizing within the religious far right. Quite honestly, the lived experience of intimidation, harassment, and violence that brutally shapes the lives of the most vulnerable and least visible segments of queer society—queer youth and poor and working class queers—proves that the organizing tactics and priorities of mainstream queer political groups have resoundingly failed. This failure is the product of internal tensions and contradictions within the gay rights movement, contradictions that boil down to the fundamental incompatibility of a liberation struggle with accommodation to an exploitative, violently oppressive political system and economy.

THE TRAP OF STATIST SOLUTIONS

Again, the non-confrontational activism of mainstream queer groups, replete with tireless fundraising and incessant lobbying of Congress and state governments, has yielded some concrete results,

including the landmark passage of a “civil union” bill in Vermont last year. But the scope and effectiveness of these gains are severely limited for reasons that call the very logic of appealing to

continued on page 18



HRC employees turn their backs on revolutionary struggle

A Playbook of Strategies for Anarchists Addressing Race

By Carlos Fernandez

To start from what I know, I'd like to use football (futbol) strategy to frame some of the necessities of race facing Anarchists.¹ In the game you have to take shots on the goal. That's the only way to score – the more you shoot, the more shots go in. However, this maxim won't work if the shots are either always random or always an unvarying, pre-planned bunch. Tackling race requires us to study and practice, scout and train, plan and improvise.

I'm not saying anything new, of course. In fact, I think a generalized awareness of the need for multiple, flexible approaches has often led to despair, cynicism, or other resignations. On the field, that's quitting. It's both the player's and team's fault. The same thought processes that lead from a team's losses to a player's quitting (and vice versa) also work positively; players find ways to keep each other moving, finding chances, fulfilling their roles. Good teamwork remembers the planned parts and improvises when opportunities suddenly open or close. I consider you my teammate, my comrade. I will try to give you concrete suggestions, "pass" the ideas accurately. My proposals on how to mix approaches to race are part of just one attempt to move Anarchism along, just one play in a long season.

SAFE SET PLAYS

What tactics have been tried already? Just because they didn't work before, don't assume they're useless. These are efforts familiar to us all for their appeals and dangers. The real task is to rework them, to learn their effective and principled execution, and to keep doing them.

Anarchists have to talk about race. Simple, frank discussions of race (on what it is, who participates in it) anywhere (collective meeting, study group, public event) reveal and shape the relationships, vocabularies, and circumstances of a group. The discussions don't have to be comfortable, new, or feel like they're going somewhere. As long as we do not become satisfied with easy answers, these conversations make race something to be faced collectively.

Anarchists have to work with people of other colors. We need to keep our lives open, experiencing difference, learning our limits and common grounds. This can be a pitfall for liberals. For us, experiencing difference needs to be a test of commitment to living in a multi-racial and multicultural world. Our groups must find their flaws and strengths in dealing with new people. Our ideas need to be tempered by opinions we haven't already heard. The hidden devices that shut us off need to be exposed.

Anarchists have to put more people of color in positions of "leadership." It can be a leftist pitfall, known as "false internationalism," or a liberal pitfall, known as "diversity." However, the people of color attracted to or already part of Anarchism must have the resources to maintain themselves in foreign terrain, to reach out to each other, and to contribute to Anarchism. The idealistic intention of this effort, ceding influence over politics and culture, needs to be defended. Groups cannot make their racial nature and composition into side issues, an ongoing "process," or working groups. Such issues must be among the groups' foremost goals.

Anarchists have to stick together. Some Anarchists see the introduction of ideological discourse into multi-racial activism as problematic if not authoritarian. Such reluctance leaves Anarchists

hidden within non-Anarchist activism, trying to sneak in their principles. To non-Anarchists, our ideas – without collective, organized Anarchist activity – become just more snowflakes in blizzards of theory and lifestyle choices. If we want to be Anarchists by more than just association, we should commit to developing Anarchist ideas and their realizations. The answers to Anarchism's shortcomings do not lie somewhere apart from its activity: the meetings, actions, spaces, and organizations need to be continued and continually renewed by raising difficult issues such as race.

RISKY IMPROVISED PLAYS

Liberation means high stakes. At key times, collective and individual investments (our work, hearts, and minds) must be put on the line. Facing the chances of failure, we need to put our Anarchism to the tests of becoming more than social scenes or comfortable answers.

Separate. Race is complicated in itself, and all the more so at its intersections with class, gender, and sexuality, but it is very real. However we experience race, we need to talk about it. And we know before saying a word that there are two overarching categories of the experience, white

with us, to contribute, learn, and help. Ask them to open their self-interests and priorities to your own, and do the same for them.

Commit. Don't be satisfied "working" on your racism. Don't be satisfied that your group tried to reach out. We have to set clear goals for Anarchism and prepare to weather failures. These goals must explicitly address race. If freedom means anything to us we must refuse its compromise. We can't give up after saying we tried to change people's prejudice, or we tried to get people of color involved, and it didn't work. Make it work. Commitment means we fight to the end, not until we're tired or need to move on.

OUTRO

The plays I suggest should be implemented in whole and in part, at different times and at the same time, throughout the different levels at which we encounter race. We all live through different scales of interaction. Facing race at any of those points requires evaluating and acting to change the circumstances of interaction. The mix of methods for changing the circumstances must fit the mix of circumstances. In soccer, going from a single defender to a whole line requires quick shifts in plays. My suggested plays are additions to a playbook of options for anti-racist Anarchists. The spine of that playbook is the belief that Anarchism is about true freedom for everyone.

No one has really figured out how to end racism's many forms of power. However, I think people who live in racist situations, from relationship to society levels, understand racism best and can find ways to end it. We may lack the answers only because the pervasiveness of oppression determines the questions we ask. Anarchists' work is to take their belief in freedom and turn it into something that begins today, in the great and small parts of our lives, and that unravels the solutions from the knots which domination has made of our lives. That means Anarchism will not solve racism without the people affected by it, Anarchism must free people from racism as much as anything else, and Anarchism must start to realize that freedom today.

POST

I can almost imagine a completely different Anarchist movement. If, in the 20th century, non-Europeans remade 19th century European revolutionary ideologies, then we can give today's liberation struggles their lost souls back. Such a wish can sustain us on the long path ahead. It's a path I think I'm beginning to see, even if it can be only by imagination right now.

Anarchism, as thoughts and people, would be: reinterpreted; emerging in all kinds of new places; in sync; arrays of distinct, overlapping efforts; bursting with exchange; full of new dialects and histories; nurturing; a force to carry local struggles toward liberation; answering the questions raised but left unanswered by the Left; liberating.

¹ I apologize in advance. I know sports analogies are obscure if not alienating to many, especially women. This won't be my only expression on this topic and I will use other techniques to get my points across.

Carlos Fernandez is an activist and student in Chicago. He is part of the editorial collective of *Arsenal*, a magazine of Anarchist strategy and culture. Contact him at 1573 N. Milwaukee Ave., PMB #420, Chicago IL 60647



Fuck
White Supremacy

and
n o n -
white. In both
personal and organizing dynamics, the context of a discussion or discourse might require the exchange between people to be internal to their racial experience. Sometimes we need to talk to ourselves first. Short and long term needs for separate activity will occur among individuals and within groups, for addressing a recent problem or developing the strength of minority voices. These are times of growing stronger, not breaking down.

Criticize. We overlook too easily the thinking and tactics of power brokers within non-white communities, usually out of fear of alienating those communities. Again, as with leftists or liberals, these are often fears of losing influence or legitimacy. Yes, people are touchy, but no one respects spinelessness. Thorough critiques of power by Anarchists should develop the integrity, in ideas and actions, that makes us worth joining. Anarchism apprehends the complexity of power structures and the role of middle-men better than many other kinds of liberatory ideology. Join that sensitivity and knowledge with people's discontent. Defend each other against authoritarianism.

Recruit. People of color may or may not see us as strangers or sell-outs. But we must not mislead them into Anarchism, or condescendingly show them how they're already "Anarchistic." On the levels of friend, activist, or organization, we must invite people to join us. Invitations must be risks we take with our relationships: ask people before they're already your friend and only lack the formalities of "membership." Ask for commitments to work

Reviewing the Four R's: Revolutionists, Radicals, Reform, Resistance

By Howard Ehrlich

The central strategic issue for Anarchists today is that of building a "transfer culture" – culture that guides us on the path of revolutionary change. How we get from here to there is, of course, the focal problem of a theory of revolution.

Let's begin with a basic role dilemma: are you a radical or a revolutionary? In my view, all radicals are revolutionaries, but not all revolutionaries are radicals. When you think about it historically, most revolutionaries were (and are) trapped in the ideological confines of the society they have chosen to overthrow. Most, as we know, simply wanted to oust the incumbent regime replacing it with themselves. Others, the Marxists-Leninists in particular, sought to replace the economic system while leaving the underlying social structures intact. Granted this is somewhat of a verbal caricature, but I draw it to emphasize the fundamental difference between the radical and the revolutionist.

The radical is marginal to the society in which he or she lives. Some may choose a retreatist life, choosing a rural or otherwise solitudinous existence or retreating into the practice of their art. Most radicals are politically engaged, and it is the nature of that engagement that distinguishes them. Radicals are antiauthoritarian, anti-bureau-

cratic, anti-hierarchical. Radicals are Anarchists. In their lifestyle as well as their politics, they are in but not of the society in which they live. Revolutionists, whether working class or middle class, are bound to the society in which they live. Their very notions of revolutionary change are simply extensions of their lifestyle. Whatever else they may be, they are not antiauthoritarian. This fundamental difference between radicals and revolutionists also appears in the way they view "post-revolutionary" society and how to get there.

The basic strategic dilemma is that of working for reform versus working at resistance. Here the fundamental disagreement between liberals and radicals become transparent. Let's start with the understanding that modern capitalist societies are extraordinarily flexible in co-opting or absorbing reforms such that they do not affect the prevailing distribution of power. Nevertheless, reformists are guided by two axioms. The first is the belief that reforms are cumulative. No matter how small, it all adds up. Secondly, these cumulative reforms take time: the byword is "gradualism." I want to point out that these are expressions of faith – a faith in the changeability of the system. I know of no empirical evidence to support these axioms.

While some resistance is patterned on a libertarian outlook of "don't tread on me," an Anar-

chist resistance has an end in view. Resistance in this sense is socially purposeful. While both the libertarian and the Anarchist may act to delegitimize authority, the Anarchists' end-product is that of building a new society, and the deflation of authority is seen as a pivotal outcome of resistance and rebirth.

The idea of reform is not easily dealt with in all contexts. Take, for example, the idea of reforming the military through extending gay rights or by arming women in the infantry. I can see no value in doing either, though I would and do work for the extension of civil rights for all in other sectors of society. I oppose the military, and find no redeeming value in assisting those who want to become soldiers. On the other hand, I have agitated against the use of depleted uranium in weapons and have contributed to a coalition to outlaw land mines. Even if both reforms were successful, they would have no significant impact on the influence of the military in society. They would, however, spare great suffering to many people around the world, particularly those who become the targets of US aggression.

Not all reforms are bad, nor do they all support the state apparatus. The civil rights acts of the 1950s certainly made a substantial change in the law, in the norms, and the condition of life for Black Americans. Many revolutionists have ar-

gued that working for reform is an important strategy for revolutionary change. The argument is that reforms can push the system to the point where it will not give in, presumably because the political elites see it as threatening to their power base. As long as the political elites can grant reforms, so the argument goes, people will not be willing to join a revolutionary movement. Further, for many socialist groups, reform movements are seen as a pool for the recruitment of new members. In both cases, the reforms (whatever they are) are secondary to the revolutionists' agenda.

For the revolutionist, revolution is an event; for the Anarchist, it is a process. As a process, revolution is something one lives in everyday life. It means resisting those pressures which lead to social conformity and obedience to authority. The radical/Anarchist lifestyle is an attempt at living today as we might live in an Anarchist future. It calls on us to be our own personal sociologist, to design the good society and test out our designs.

That is the challenge, the adventure, the mystery of Anarchism.

Howard J. Ehrlich is the editor of the magazine, *Social Anarchism*. He writes from Baltimore and may be reached at sociala@nothingness.org

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A MOVEMENT HISTORY (PART I)

By David Gilbert

We study the past to draw lessons to help us liberate the future. Today's young activists are to be commended for showing much more interest than my 1960s generation did in learning from earlier movements. Still, I want to alert you to two characteristic errors in such study.

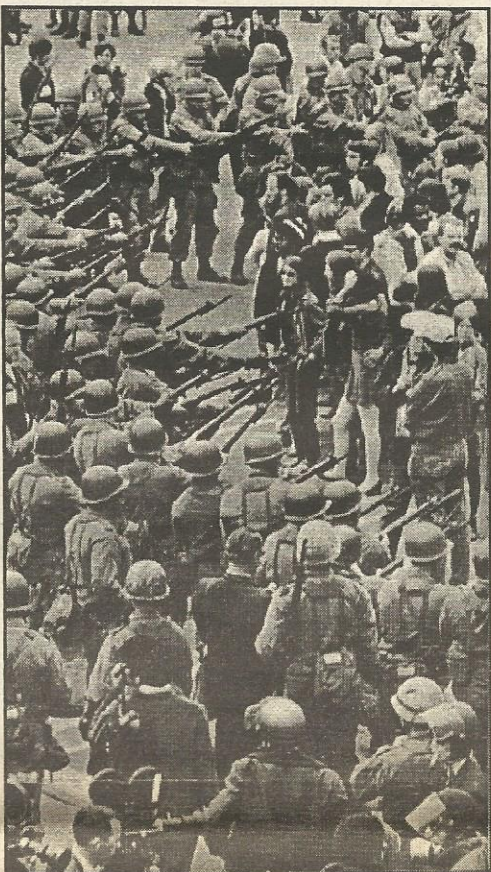
★ *We mechanically applied lessons from revolutions at far more advanced levels to our own embryonic stage.*

★ *In looking at past US struggles, we saw errors as mainly the result of wrong ideas in the heads of the leaders of the day. Thus, we implicitly flattered ourselves as outstanding individuals who would naturally be more principled and intelligent. This approach way underestimates the material forces – such as the depth of white supremacy or the repressive powers of the state – that produce repeated errors.*

This brief two-part history is neither detailed nor definitive. It is written by a participant and partisan, with the goal of contributing to today's struggles.

The US was rocked by widespread and tumultuous protests in the 1960s. SDS was the organization at the heart of the radical movement among predominantly white college students. It drew special vitality from its close relationship to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the youthful, militant civil rights group doing the most courageous field work in the South. SDS also became the spearhead for what became a massive movement against the war in Vietnam by organizing the first national demonstration against it on 4/17/65. Back then, it was unheard of to challenge "our" government's "foreign policy," so just to call for such a protest was radical, and the turnout of 20,000 people was very impressive. The work for that march also led to a defining break from SDS's parent organization, the League for Industrial Democracy, when we defied their orders to exclude Communists.

SDS, founded in 1960, received its early definition from "The Port Huron Statement" of 1962. The core concept was participatory democracy: beyond electing leaders, people need to directly participate in discussing and determining the decisions that affect their lives, including in the economic sphere. The compelling issues were the Civil Rights movement and peace (opposing the Cold War and nuclear bombs). The defining early work of SDS, along with its alliance with SNCC, was the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP). Students went to live in poor communities to "build an interracial movement of the poor." While organizing success was limited, the experience was profound. SDS hummed with a youthful vibrancy. Most of us rejected both red-baiting and the Soviet model of "socialism." Both red and black flags flew at our conventions. And we tried to apply participatory democracy to our own organization, with mixed results. The challenge to hierarchy felt liberating, even if often chaotic and inefficient. But there was a real problem of "the tyranny of structurelessness," where decisions are made in an informal and thereby unaccountable way.



The escalations of the war in Vietnam and SNCC's dramatic advance, in the summer of 1966, from Civil Rights to Black Power posed new challenges and led to some tension between the old guard, steeped in ERAP, and newly activated student militants. SDS wasn't prepared for how the anti-war movement would mushroom, but did provide a radical and militant presence within the much broader coalition. SDS still naively defined the system as "corporate liberalism" as we grappled to combine our anti-racism and anti-war impetus with an economic critique.

The impact when the Black Panther Party burst onto the national scene in the fall of 1966 was electric. Their armed self-defense of their community from police brutality and their community self-help programs (free breakfast for schoolchildren, free clinics, free schools) provided a living example of revolutionary nationalism and self-determination for oppressed people. In the same period, the first photos were published of Vietnamese children burned by US napalm bombs – which drove us crazy about stopping the war. SDS slogan became "from protest to resistance," with a focus on draft resistance.

Meanwhile, the inspiration of the Civil Rights Movement had led to a re-birth of women's liberation. An early example was SDS's first ever all women's workshop at our 6/67 national convention. The air crackled with the energy and creativity the women generated. But their report to the plenary got a raucous reception – including catcalls and paper airplanes – from many SDS men. Given there had been little history of struggle, it isn't surprising that men were still very sexist, but such blatant hostility was shocking for an organization that prided itself on always siding with the oppressed. That debacle was an example of the problems that pushed many women to leave the "left" and contributed to an unfortunate tension between anti-imperialism and feminism, which weakened both. Many principled women – strengthened by the often unsung examples and leadership of women of color – continued to struggle on both fronts, but it took an Amazonian effort to do so.

A high tide of struggle crested in 1968, with the Vietnamese's powerful Tet offensive and the ghetto uprisings in the US after Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated. These events inspired SDS-led student strikes that shut down scores of colleges. We began to name and analyze the system as "imperialism." Che Guevara's slogan of "2, 3, many Vietnams" pointed to how such a colossus could be overextended and eventually defeated. The Black rebellion was accompanied by militant upsurges of Native Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Asians in the US.

The government's response was a vicious campaign of disruption and violence. (See Greg Wells' series on COINTELPRO in *ONWARD* # 2 and 3.) More than 30 Panther were killed in 1968-71, and over 1,000 jailed. That level of repression wasn't used against whites. While we did experience harassment, arrests and the threat of a wartime draft, it was more our identification with the Panthers and vow to stand by them that faced an urgent crisis. Just two years earlier, we thought all that was needed was to "shake the moral conscience of America"; now, we found ourselves confronting the most powerful government in world history. And as rapidly as the movement had grown, we were still a small minority in white America.

Under this tremendous pressure, SDS split apart along the basic fault-line of the US bedrock of white supremacy: between the desire for a potential majority base among white Americans and the exigent need for militant solidarity with Black and other third world struggles. One side (invoking a Eurocentric Marxism) said that revolution was about the working class, and used that as a Left cover for retreat from fighting alongside Vietnam and the Panthers, claiming "all nationalism is reactionary." The other side (inspired by Marxist-led third world struggles) rightly saw solidarity with national liberation as a priority for any revolutionary movement worthy of that name. However, we wrongly abandoned efforts to organize mass numbers of white people, which also limited our base for anti-racist activism.

While the split moved along the horns of a real dilemma, there was a chance – although it certainly would have been difficult to achieve – for a larger and more working class movement base without pandering to the racist trade union leadership. That strategy would have entailed reaching the growing youth rebellion with anti-imperialist politics, as well as allying with the emerging women's movement.

We were too overwhelmed by the stark life-and-death challenges, combined with our own inexperience and weaknesses, to implement such a strategy in practice. SDS splintered apart in 1969-70. One result was a series of formations that more or less reproduced the traditional white left's retreat from militant anti-racism. Another result was the Weather Underground Organization; while seriously flawed, still a breakthrough in sustaining seven years of armed actions in solidarity with national liberation struggles. (See the next issue for Part II on the WUO!)

In 1965, David was the founding chairman of the Vietnam Committee and a founding member of the SDS chapter at Columbia. In 1967, he wrote the first national SDS pamphlet on "US imperialism." He participated in the Columbia strike of 1968; joined the underground resistance in 1970; and is doing a life sentence after being busted as part of the "Brinks" case of 1981. (See page 20 for his contact info!)

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May Day - the REAL Labor Day

By Jackie Dana

"Workmen, let your watchword be: No compromise! Cowards to the rear! Men to the front! The die is cast. The first of May, whose historic significance will be understood and appreciated only in later years, has come."

— Albert Spies, May 1886

All of the privileges workers enjoy today—a minimum wage, safety laws, and even an eight-hour workday—came about only with the sacrifice of the workers who came before us. Although the government prefers our collective amnesia, workers on May Day should remember our past and realize that we too are part of an ongoing struggle to bring about an end to the exploitation of labor around the world.

From the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, people in factories have worked very long shifts, lasting up to fourteen or more hours a day. During the 1880s, a new movement calling for an eight-hour day inspired both labor unions and unorganized workers. At its 1884 convention, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions adopted a resolution stating that beginning May 1, 1886, "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work" and workers would strike at companies that did not recognize the eight-hour day.

By April 1886, a quarter of a million workers had committed themselves to go on strike as part of the May Day movement. This enabled thousands of workers to win shorter shifts. Most employers, however, refused to reduce working hours. By May 1, some 200,000 workers were on strike. An additional 340,000 workers in the industrial cities of Boston, New York, Milwaukee, Chicago and Pittsburgh, turned out for local parades and rallies.

One of the most militant campaigns occurred in Chicago. The syndicalist International Working People's Association – promoting equal rights

and an end to racism and the class system – had successfully organized huge numbers of workers, building a movement that included African-Americans, immigrants, and women standing together with white men. Largely because of the organization's efforts, 50,000 workers went on strike, with tens of thousands attending the city's May Day parade. The IWPA's successful broad-based appeal worried businesses and the government alike. This fear resulted in the expansion of both the police and the militias.

On May Day, Albert Parsons, along with Albert Spies, spoke to a huge crowd assembled as part of the May Day activities. Parsons was a member of both the Knights of Labor and the Chicago Central Labor Union, and Spies was the editor of the German workers' paper *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*. Despite the city leaders' expectations of violence (which led to a heavy police presence), the rally ended without incident. Two days later, Spies spoke to a meeting of 6,000 workers, including striking lumber workers and employees from the McCormick Harvester Works. Cyrus McCormick, a determined

union-buster had locked his workers out as a result of their strike of 2 1/2 months. Non-striking workers and replacement workers became the focus of heckling by other meeting participants, creating a chaotic atmosphere. The police then fired into the crowd and killed at least two men while wounding many more.

Appalled by the police violence, Spies called for a massive rally the next day in Haymarket Square. Between 2,000 and 3,000 people attended the May 4 rally. Parsons gave an hour-long, relatively tame speech, specifically stating, "I am not here for the purpose of inciting anybody."

Chicago Mayor Harrison, who had attended most of the meeting, stopped by the police station on his way home. He reported to Police Captain Bonfield that "nothing looked likely to require police interference." Despite this advice, the captain, who regularly employed Pinkerton detectives and supported "shoot to kill" policies when dealing with strikers, sent additional officers to the square.



A GARLAND FOR MAY DAY 1895
DEDICATED TO THE WORKERS BY WALTER CRANE

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Finding Hope After Seattle: Rethinking Radical Activism and Building a Movement

By Chris Dixon

Just over a year ago, thousands of us were preparing for an uncertain showdown with global capital in Seattle. Yet we barely realized that we were about to initiate some of the most successful protests in recent US history. Indeed, few believed we would have any major impact on corporate globalization. At best, we hoped that we might be a significant blip on the nightly news and perhaps a noticeable inconvenience to trade delegates at the WTO Ministerial.

To our shock, though, what we were able to accomplish spun far beyond our wildest expectations. And it was more than the sheer number of protesters or the final paralysis of the Ministerial. In Seattle we experienced our collective power, learned daily lessons from each other, and realized that we could win. In short, we developed a new capacity for resistance with a vital sense of inspiration.

Now, having recently passed the anniversary of the WTO protests, we sit in a markedly different place. The events of the past year have been a mixed bag, but the momentum of Seattle is still alive. In fact, many are beginning to tentatively refer to 'the movement' with seriousness nearly unheard during the last twenty-five years. Now more than ever, then, I think it's important to take pause to consider where we on the libertarian left stand in relation to what went down in Seattle and what has blossomed from it. As one among a number of Anarchists who initiated the Direct Action Network and put out the original call to shut down the Ministerial, I'd like to offer some thoughts to this crucial dialogue.

There are many ways, of course, to critically reflect on this burgeoning movement. For instance, numerous Anarchists are rightfully pointing to the lack of clear anti-capitalist analysis, as well as the ludicrous posturing about property damage, coming from many of the organizations involved. Just as important, other Anarchists and unaffiliated radicals are thoughtfully warning, in particular, of the dangerous racist dynamics operating in the heart of these activist efforts (see www.tao.ca/~colours for some of the best of this commentary). Here, though, I want to consider this movement from a different perspective, one that has emerged commonly in activist conversations: hope.

Many folks admit that Seattle and subsequent mobilizations have forever changed how they think about the potential for social transformation and mass action. As activist Raj Patel observes about the A16 actions against the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in D.C., "There was a real feeling, as we sat in the rain on Monday, and as our comrades were arrested, that there is a genuine possibility for progressive social change." In essence, amidst the blockades and police confrontations, scrawled graffiti and tear gas, we've found a renewed sense of hope.

There was no secret to it in Seattle. Our determined and imaginative organizing leading up to the WTO protests, combined with our astounding victories in the streets, was a deeply heartening experience for the thousands of us who were there, not to mention the countless others who watched and celebrated from elsewhere. Using brazen Anarchist tactics and decision-making systems, we managed to outwit state authorities, endure police assaults, and create substantial disruption. Our ambitious rhetoric ("shutting down the WTO") for once became a reality. We left bruised, tired, but profoundly inspired.

Since then, the at-times haphazard organizing model from the WTO protests has been redefined and re-created across the globe. International days of action like N30, complete with the requisite abbreviated symbols (A16, S11, S26), are happening more and more. All the while, in many of the communities I visit, I discover that, for every one of us who organized for Seattle, roughly five new folks have been radicalized. Presumably, the hope that we discovered at the WTO Ministerial has grown contagious. What else might explain the dedication of so many to carry Seattle's success from DC to London, Windsor to Melbourne, LA to Prague?

Look closely, though. Each successive mobilization has certainly energized, radicalized, and won on its own terms, but each has also been accompanied by a letdown. None can quite live

up to the size, widespread media coverage, and success of Seattle. Plus, the time and energy required to organize and even participate in each mobilization is literally staggering, often leaving activists and organizational resources exhausted. And folks truly are tired. In the words of radical journalist LA Kauffman, "If there's one point on which everyone in the movement seems to agree, it's that action-hopping is getting old." Meanwhile, state repression has intensified, which translates into more preempted, jailed, and generally worn activists. Consequently, it's no surprise that some feel disheartened and uncertain.

We definitely haven't lost our collective sense of hope, but it is waning. We need sources of hope, though, if this really is going to become a sustained movement rather than an historical episode. "Hope," as revolutionary feminist bell hooks says, "is essential to any political struggle for radical change when the overall social climate

sion, especially based on race and class. No doubt, many Anarchists and other activists realize this. I'm not the first and certainly not the most articulate to level these criticisms. I think, though, that they're worth briefly repeating, particularly since many young white, middle-class radicals (myself included) often acknowledge them without really reflecting on them.

Broadly, they can be distilled into a single question: Who can afford to action-hop? And we must understand the word *afford* with its many meanings: Who can afford to travel across the country, or even the world? Who can afford to risk their bodies in potentially dangerous police confrontations? Who can afford to be away from family and/or work responsibilities for uncertain periods of time? Who can afford to risk their legal statuses with the possibility of arrest? Altogether, not many people.

A key problem, then, with the focus on mass

occasional forays into the national. And many mobilization organizers continue to frame issues that way. Whether it's global capitalism, represented by the WTO and the World Bank, or state authority, in the form of the Republican and Democratic National Conventions (all worthy targets), the connections to everyday lives are frequently lost. What about privatization of city services as neoliberalism on the home front? What about welfare "reform" as domestic structural adjustment? What about daily police brutality and prison growth as massive state repression? The connections are all there, as are the often unacknowledged activists working to challenge these injustices, yet many white, middle-class radicals simply aren't seeing them. The tragic result is that we lose critical opportunities for linking the workings of global and national systems to local organizing efforts and, in effect, broadening our resistance.

For those of us who can afford to action-hop, it's easy to overlook how exclusive and often disconnected mass mobilizations are—especially amidst the dangerous thrills of street skirmishes and arrests. For instance, reporting on the Democratic National Convention protests, activist journalist Larry Everest approvingly quotes a young man, thoroughly bruised from rubber bullets, after a major police confrontation: "Damn, I wish we could do this every day." The reality, however, is that many folks *do* do that every day—as unwilling victims of police brutality and a racist, classist legal system. And along with many others, they can't afford to glibly put themselves in that situation *any* day—a reality with considerable implications for how this movement is shaping up and where our hope lies.

RETHINKING RADICAL ACTIVISM

I certainly don't suggest that we give up on mass mobilizations. In fact, we need to continue engaging in major collective actions that significantly challenge the legitimacy of existing institutions. In order to do this effectively, however, we should be creating a healthy, vibrant, truly diverse movement for fundamental social change. One crucial step for those of us who are relatively privileged (and therefore often insulated) is to push our outlook to encompass many forms of and tactics for effective radical activism—that is, many sources of hope.

Let me illustrate this with some wisdom gleaned from longtime radical Peter Bohmer. His striking emphasis is that everyone can contribute to social change in both "small and large ways." Simple yet crucial, this acknowledges the possibility of seemingly small efforts having important—and far-reaching—results. For example, think about Jon Strange and the other folks in Columbus, Ohio, who crashed an internationally televised "town hall meeting" with US Secretary of State Madeline Albright in 1998, and successfully raised critical questions about US foreign policy on Iraq. Consider the demise of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) just a couple of years ago, precipitated by small-scale letter-writing, teach-ins, city council resolutions, public education campaigns, and, yes, mass direct action. Or—something with which I'm more intimate—reflect on the widespread success of a handful of us graduating students at Evergreen State College in 1999 cajoling our administration into hosting political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal as a commencement speaker. These are just a few more recent examples, buoyed by a history of small contributions having major consequences.

Recognizing small and large ways of contributing to social change means including much that is frequently excluded. Further, it means blurring the line between what might be considered 'small' and 'large.' Fighting reactionary ballot measures, establishing community and cultural centers, educating others creatively, demanding authentic public oversight of police, creating local institutions for mutual aid, building art installations, organizing in our workplaces, sustaining nurturing relationships, challenging polluters in our communities, constructing alternative media, opposing prison construction, struggling for control over our schools, painting graffiti, planting community gardens, protesting welfare cuts, confronting oppression in our daily lives—these and many more contributions can be immeasurably

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promotes disillusionment and despair." And this isn't a blithe, feel-good kind of hope. No, this is hope on the ground, hope like we glimpsed in Seattle, *real* hope generated by the social struggles around us and abroad. Without it, we risk forgetting not only that we can in fact fundamentally transform society as it is—seemingly immutable but not unalterable—but also that we have the *capacity* to challenge and change it.

Here, however, is the kicker: if we're going to sustain our hope and this budding movement, we have to seriously rethink what constitutes 'radical activism.' We have to stop solely hinging our hopes and focusing exclusively on mass mobilizations, expecting each to be "the next Seattle." In other words, we have to move beyond the myopic view—often endemic among Anarchists—that the most 'important' activism only or mainly happens in the streets, enmeshed in police confrontations. This view sidesteps crucial questions of privilege and avoids the reality that social change happens on multiple levels, all while obscuring other avenues for hope that exist around us.

QUESTIONS OF PRIVILEGE

Anarchism is fundamentally about dismantling systems of power. And promisingly, this critical orientation is cropping up throughout the movement. But while successive mass mobilizations since the WTO have directly confronted a number of powerful institutions, they have also managed to replicate patterns of power and exclu-

mobilizations is the underlying idea that we, as people who seek radical social change, must each take great risks and make huge commitments in very prescribed ways—and that all of us can afford to do that. Yet this just doesn't face reality. When many folks are working one, two, or even three jobs, taking care of family members, and dealing with immediate crises, they simply can't devote all of their time to activist efforts. Indeed, many people are concerned about simple survival—feeding their kids, getting some work or getting to work, paying the rent, keeping out of jail, staying healthy with limited or no access to health care.

More to the point, direct action, as many Anarchists tend to define it, can be deeply exclusionary. While it undeniably empowers some—mainly white and middle-class—it disempowers others. Used as a central tactic of mass mobilizations, direct action can in fact implicitly assume a certain degree of privilege, with dire consequences. As anti-capitalist organizer Helen Luu explains, "the emphasis on this method alone often works to exclude people of colour because what is not being taken into account is the relationship between the racist (in)justice system and people of colour." White working-class and poor people, also frequently victims of police repression, face some similar forms of marginalization.

Further, in the flurry of action-hopping, the focus has so far remained largely global, with

What's in a Name?: THE "ANTI-GLOBALIZATION" MOVEMENT

By Cindy Milstein

The amorphous movement that has appeared on the scene of late – in North America, after Seattle, and around the world several years prior – exhibits an astonishing diversity of tactics, goals, and political beliefs. At the same time, this resurgence of radical politics is united in an equally varied critique of one phenomenon: globalization. Whether understood economically, politically, ideologically, or culturally; as a form of communication or set of new technologies; as an overlapping configuration of these or other factors, globalization provides the umbrella under which hundreds of often life-and-death matters can huddle as one connected whole.

The irony cannot be missed: globalization has spawned a global movement. So should "anti-globalization" be taken on as our self-proclaimed mantle?

It is difficult to pinpoint the origin of the tag "anti-globalization," although I suspect it is more a term of derision on the part of the media and those in power than a phrase generated from the grassroots. Its origins, however, are not the issue. What is instead at stake in naming this movement is its very identity. We may not have a choice in what we want to be called – BBC news regularly labels protestors 'anti-capitalist' even as US news organs stick with 'anti-global' – and certainly only time will tell what historians, social movement theorists, and others will decide to dub this period. But when we do find occasions to self-describe our movement, what will we say? For consciously or not, this reflects both our concerns and aspirations.

"Anti-globalization" seems a rather poor stand-in for what has so far been a flowering of international resistance and solidarity. To begin with, the phrase is purely negative. Such negativity does offer a necessary critique of the great transformation now underway, frequently depicted as the age of globalization. Yet it provides none of the utopian thrust of proactively named struggles: from the civil rights movement and New Left to China's pro-democracy movement and Poland's Solidarity, just to mention a few.

More crucially, though, the use of "anti" is partially a misnomer. It makes it sound as if the movement is against globalization as a whole. If globalization is narrowly defined to include only those things we don't like, assuming that were even possible, perhaps being seen as anti-globalization would make sense. But even those entities perceived as completely bad often aren't so clearly evil: for instance, international "development" policies may supply people with electricity even as they dam up their rivers; or a world court of law may bring rapists to justice even as it establishes the foundation for ever-more hierarchical institutions.

Globalization itself is double-edged. The Internet is the most famous illustration, making possible both new markets for capital, on the one hand, and free or inexpensive access to information on a scale never before imagined, on the other. Beyond the Internet, however, one could point to communication technologies in general as part and parcel of the mixed bag of globalization.

While it is clearly difficult to separate the culture industry from non-consumer culture, given capitalism's dominance, the production and flow of media globally has simultaneously been homogenized and democratized by cheap, portable, miniaturized, and digitized technologies. Hollywood may now reach into hitherto unknown regions, but likewise, because of fairly affordable VCRs, more people see more independent or "foreign" films than ever before. Moreover, despite the best efforts of media monopolies to market culture to the world's peoples, on the grassroots level worldwide, new and widely disseminated (though not widely enough) technologies facilitate the making of films for reasons of aesthetics, education, or politics that have nothing to do with profit and everything to do with sharing beauty, knowledge, and ideas. This is just a brief example of the promise of a mutualistic multiculturalism on an international scale, one embedded in what could be a liberatory form of globalization. Numerous other instances of the double-edged character of globalization could be explored, from changes in the nation-state and notions of citizenship to ruptures in our sense of time and space. Indeed, this should be one of our primary tasks if we are serious about drawing

out the possibilities of a more global world even as we attempt to resist its perils.

Any wholesale rejection of globalization, then, not only ignores the many positive elements such international reciprocity does or could offer; it also leads to some strange bedfellows. First, there are those who in opposing globalization advocate isolationism, whether in the shape of fundamentalism, nationalism, or worse. Christian right-winger Pat Buchanan springs to mind in this regard, as he joined with the likes of Ralph Nader to decry opening trade relations with China last spring. So do the neo-Nazis who showed up to protest "Jewish globalization" this past fall at demonstrations in Italy. And then there are those primitivist "anarchists" who completely reject society, technology, agriculture, art, language, and so on, and thus are quite happy to wave an anti-globalization banner alongside their anti-civilization flag.

The tags that seem to most often replace 'anti-globalization' to depict our movement are 'anticorporate,' 'anticapitalist,' or less frequently,

'anti-global capitalism.' All remain in the realm of the negative, which is one of their shortcomings, although they imply vastly different perspectives and so can't be conflated. 'Anticorporate' takes a relatively safe band-aid approach: make corporations more responsible or bring them under greater regulatory control. Thus, it generally doesn't touch capitalism or the status quo at all. Yet unlike those who utilize the term "anti-global capitalism" – indicating by default that capitalism on a local or continental level would be fine, and if able to be scaled back, would somehow stay put – at least the anticorporate camp is up-front about its belief in the ability of a kinder state to limit capitalism's excesses. For radicals, 'anticapitalism' offers the obvious advantage of taking an explicit stand in condemning not merely corporations or global capitalism but also the very system of which they are an expression. Nevertheless, it leaves out a host of other "anti" issues: antistatism, antiracism, anti-homophobia, and so forth.

So what would an affirmative name for this

new movement look like? How can we make it clear that we're advocating freedom globally, a freedom that can only flourish when institutions and forms of exploitation, coercion, and authoritarianism are rooted out and vigilantly kept at bay? Names like the global solidarity movement or movement for direct democracy, to suggest just two ideas here, may begin to capture this generation of resistance and reconstruction, but such inspiration must come from extensive discussions within our movement circles. Any name, if it is to reflect the egalitarian character of this struggle, should emerge from numerous instances of participatory exploration: to determine what globalization is and what it could be; to sketch alternatives to the capitalistic, statist, and oppressive forms of globalization being forced on most of the world's peoples; to figure out this movement's aims and ideals. From this we can embrace a name of our own.

It could be argued that the act of giving a slogan to ourselves reduces an expansive freedom struggle to revolution-as-commodity. The bright yellow "Battle of Seattle" rain ponchos and other such products at direct actions may foreshadow a time when our carnivals against capitalism turn into mere carnivals. Be that as it may, we will be labeled, whether we decide to do so or not. The seven o'clock news will make sure of that, if only to fit us into their sound bite framework, as will the FBI, if only to fit us in their burgeoning files. Yet a self-definition that propels us toward the world we want to see – like the aptly named Students for a Democratic Society in the 1960s – is preferable to a descriptor of what we despise, or one that misrepresents what we are demanding and envisioning altogether.

What's in a name? Only what this movement hopes to move toward.

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photo by Michael Adler

Stick it to the Manarchy!

By Maggie, Rayna, Michael and Matt

Manarchy: Aggressive, competitive behavior within the Anarchist movement that is frighteningly reminiscent of historically oppressive male gender roles. Such behavior includes acting macho, holier than thou and elitist. Manarchy often results in exclusivity.

We must share our discomfort with manarchy in the Anarchist movement. We are excited and inspired by the development and practice of Anarchist ideals, and we must remain critical of our movement in an effort to maximize our effectiveness. Anarchism and direct action are powerful forces, yet we are still susceptible to taking on some of the oppressive cultural practices of the very system we are challenging.

We are two women and two men, all white and from economically privileged backgrounds. We are Anarchists. We support direct action and the Black Bloc as a tactic for empowerment. In this article we focus on what has been coined "manarchy." We intend to explain and criticize manarchist behavior by running through a series of experiences that we have had at mass actions, conferences, and in our day-to-day organizing.

Most insidious is the dogmatism of 'no compromise' that is often accompanied with a macho spirit that assumes a 'tougher than thou' attitude toward dominant culture as well as allies in the movement.

At the presidential debates in Boston, one of us saw a group of people bust through a police barricade of an already blocked off street. The move was far-fetched and ill planned, and resulted in several people being pepper sprayed. This is tough, not tactical. For some of these people, being pepper sprayed became a battle wound that illustrated their no-compromise "radical" politics.

In a similar vein, two of us were at a Black Bloc meeting where one man declared: "If you're not willing to take a hit [to the head with a baton] and you're not willing to go to jail, don't march with the Black Bloc." He was frustrated with the

fact that he had been marching with the Black Bloc at the Inauguration protests and upon confronting a police barricade, found that no one was backing him up. We question whether sacrificing oneself to a beating is an effective goal. We cannot over-emphasize the importance of protecting each other, yet we also understand that people in different situations have different needs. In other words, not everyone can and wants to get beat up and sent to jail for an act that may or may not be perceived as tactically useful.

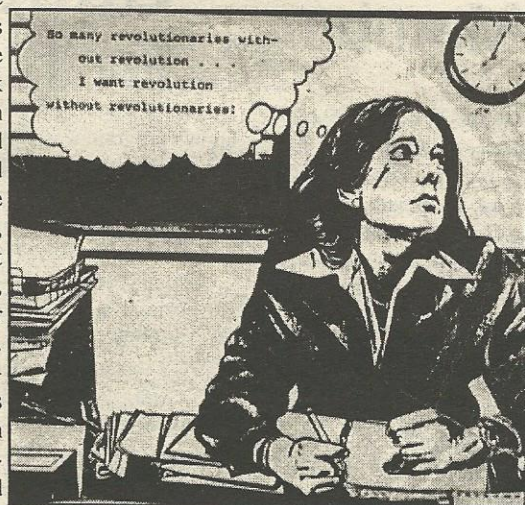
The man's divisive statement assumes that he is one of the more qualified Black Bloc participants in the group. He found that no one else had stuck around to take a beating with him, demonstrating that he is tougher and, therefore, a better radical than others. His superior position – his statements suggest – gives him the authority to declare who is allowed to march in the Black Bloc. Thus, he feels comfortable telling others to stay home.

The no-compromise position has been exemplified by a posting on the Independent Media Center's website. In a critique of the Inauguration Protests in Washington, DC, Slip writes: "I think we really need to ask ourselves what our militancy means? Is it really militant to allow to be searched to enter into the area that you were scheduled to have your first amendment right? That's not militant or defiant. Is it revolt if you ask for permission for the same system you are protesting? Permitted protests are in no way a resistance, let alone a revolution. To me, in this

revolution the ends ARE the means. We have to live our visions and take control of our own lives. This is exhibiting in not just how we live our lives and use our lives as tools, but how we extend our dissent into literally reclaiming our spaces, when we get into the streets. We can no longer pander and go through "the proper means." The proper means are practicing real democracy and claiming our right to free assembly. NO COMPROMISE." (http://indymedia.org/front.php3?article_id=24345&group=webcast)

In this critique, Slip raises an important point about the need for militancy, defiance, and fundamental subversion of the system. Yet, his analysis around "NO COMPROMISE" remains problematic. In a capitalist system, we all must compromise. No one is perfect, and we are all implicated with the oppression that this system is built on. Some are more implicated and privileged than others are. It's ironic

that the more privileged are often the ones who make the call for "no compromise" at mass actions. We should question who is able to "not compromise" at large demonstrations. For example, as four white college students, it's pretty easy for us to be militants at mass actions. In addition to easy access to lawyers, the cops and courts treat us better than classes of people who are traditionally victimized. It is much harder for people of color, the economically disadvantaged, and people who are not physically capable of intense physical confrontation to take such a position.



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"Any movement that do not support their political internees is a sham movement!"
-Ojore Lutalo

Fellow ABC Member is Jailed in Spain

Our comrade Eduardo García has suffered a frame-up because of his public activism supporting the prisoners' struggle. He has been in jail since November 8th, 2000 on charges of terrorism.

If there's not an international campaign to pressure the Spanish government, he could be in prison for 20 years. What's more, if the government doesn't notice our comrades' solidarity around the world, more people could suffer similar frame-ups.

He was arrested because the state wants to cut-off communication and solidarity between prisons and the street. They want to stop the increasing anti-prison movement, which is helping hundreds of social ("ordinary") prisoners to recover their dignity and strength.

After years of nearly symbolic protests, 300 prisoners were able to coordinate a hunger strike in March, claiming for the end of the isolation system (FIES), release of extremely ill prisoners and transportation of everyone to the nearest jail to their families and friends. We must point that all prisoners involved in the strikes are social, except for the "Cordoba 4." In this sense, their struggle contains a radical questioning of the whole capitalist and repressive system. Demonstrations (last one in Madrid with 1,000 people, others in Barcelona, Valencia...), leaflets, posters, actions of all kinds have taken place around the whole Spanish state supporting the prisoners. Many of the involved prisoners have been tortured, others have been sent from one jail to another, communications have been cut, but every day more of them decide that they have nothing to lose except their chains. The media has censored everything surrounding the struggle, and has just printed articles connecting the strikes with the Basque nationalist guerrilla ETA saying, "dangerous prisoners collaborate with terrorists and try to produce disorders inside prisons."

Prisoners have been supported mainly by the libertarian and autonomus movements (from the well-known CNT-IWA to the autonomus neighborhood collectives or Anarchist groups).

The state has chosen Eduardo García, 22-year-old, because he is one of the most well-known Anarchists in Madrid. He is member of

the Anarchist Black Cross and has also been involved in other social struggles; mainly in the squats and the "anti-globalization" actions and groups (he went to the protests in Praha against the IMF and World Bank with the Madrid group). He visited prisoners almost every week, supporting them and helping to coordinate their strikes. He legalized many of the demonstrations taking place in Madrid and took part in some direct actions to make public the prisoners situation (such as climbing to famous places of the city or appearing nude in front of the jails department).

They accuse Edu of sending seven letter-bombs to six journalists (known for attacking the prisoners struggle) and a politician.

The charges are obviously false in many points:

- **The main proof is his relation with "dangerous" Anarchist prisoners and 40 grams of firework powder supposedly found at his parents flat (where he lives). The witnesses of the inspection declared the powder wasn't there, and suspiciously, the "discovering" of the powder doesn't appear in the video recording of the inspection (which the police have "lost").**
- **His public activity made a parallel clandestine one absolutely impossible.**
- **After capturing the supposed maker of the bombs, 4 more have appeared.**

Immediately after Eduardo's imprisonment began a press campaign against the squats and the Anarchist and autonomus movements. We were all included in the anti-terrorist paranoia (as ETA and GRAPO have increased their armed activity in the past months).

The big autonomous antifa demonstration every November 20th in Madrid was surprisingly attacked by the anti-riot police. Dozens of people were injured and seven arrested. The next day, the press only spoke about the barricades set after the police attack by the astonished demonstrators or the numerous bank windows smashed by others while retreating.

We NEED your solidarity. We MUST free Eduardo García. The ABC and Edu's support groups are trying to organize an international cam-

paign denouncing the frame-up. In previous circumstances as with Michael Patera, our collective effort effectively pressured governments. We need another effort.

Edu is now in Soto del Real's jail and is suffering in isolation. He will be judged in some time (it could be up to two years). We are preparing a global action day, but until then... PLEASE DO ANYTHING. Just a painting in the Spanish consulate in your city would be helpful. Demonstrations, leaflets, stickers, or any other thing you decide would be wonderful.

Please send us your ideas, questions, actions and, of course, support letters to Edu (they won't let them in because of his isolation, but we hope to be able to send them soon. Please send us any new about leaflets, actions, demos... even paintings! You can also contact his ABC group at:

CNA-ABC (Madrid)
Paseo Alberto Palacios n°42
28021 Madrid. Spain
Or e-mail us at: edulibre@yahoo.es

If you would like to create a support group, please contact your nearest ABC group or directly write to us (first would be better in order to decentralize work).

Note to ABC groups: don't worry if this is the first news you get, as Edu's group is sending you all the info via current mail). You can send letters of support to

Eduardo García Macías
Modulo 4 CP Madrid V Soto Del Real
28791 Soto Del Real
Madrid Spain

You can send letters against his imprisonment to the judge who has decided to jail him:

Teresa Palacios
Juzgado de Instrucción 3,
Audiencia Nacional
C/García Gutierrez, 1
28080 Madrid

This article was edited slightly for space and clarity.
-Jax ABCF

FBI Seeks to Question ABCF Member

Since as early as mid-2000, the New Jersey and Jacksonville offices of the FBI have been poking around asking questions about Jax ABCF member Neil. On at least 3 separate occasions that we are aware of, NJ agents went to his father's house in Paterson, NJ and FL agents went to his new and old residence in Jacksonville questioning neighbors and people he works with.

In early October, an agent in Jacksonville telephoned Neil and informed him they wanted to question him. Their reason was because his name appeared on a visiting list of a prisoner who is a known associate of one of the FBI's most wanted, Arthur Washington. On this occasion, Neil continually told the agent that he would not speak to them without a lawyer.

Neil wrote a statement after being contacted and sent it out to other ABCF members and PP/POWs. Though he made no statement, Neil did listen to the agent. Several people were quick and correct to point out that Neil should have hung up the phone as soon as he learned who it was.

Since this phone call, agents have visited his apartments and questioned coworkers as early as two weeks ago.

This is just a heads up for folks so that they are aware of what's happening and a reminder: Don't talk [or listen!] to the FBI!

Anarchist PP/POW Subsistence Program

While the ABCF's better known Warchest Program has been sending non-partisan financial aid to class war PP/POWs since 1994, a lesser known program was implemented in 1997 to focus special attention to those Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War who come from our own Anarchist/anti-authoritarian community.

While the ABCF believes it is important to continue in the historical tradition of the ABC and provide non-partisan support to all class war PP/POWs, Anarchist and anti-authoritarian PP/POWs need to be our priority.

Since 1997, the ABCF has been collecting funds to send a monthly check as well as sending 40 postage stamps per month to Anarchist POW Ojore Lutalo as part of the Anarchist Subsistence Program. As with our other financial programs, a full and complete accounting of all funds received and all funds sent out is provided for public review. We always print the recipients address and encourage people to write to the prisoners, making sure to hold us accountable to our claims. These reports appear in each and every issue of the *ABCF Update*, printed by Kent ABCF.

To help see this program grow and develop, please contact the North East Branch Group in Lancaster. They have been consistently and reliably facilitating this program since its inception at the 1997 ABCF conference in Philadelphia.

Please consider having you or your collec-

tive becoming a regular contributor to this important program. A regular contribution would consist of a monthly donation to the program and becoming part of the stamp rotation. Participants of the stamp rotation take turns sending in forty .34¢ stamps to Lancaster ABCF, who in turns sends them and the check to the PP/POW. A monthly contribution can be as little or as much as you or your collective can send. There is no minimum/maximum amount. Whatever you send, all that we ask is that you are consistent. An easy way to do so is to do a fundraiser or raise, for instance, \$120 in one lump sum. Send it to Lancaster ABCF and ask them to spread the \$120 out for the year as \$10 donations for 12 months.

If you feel you can not become a regular contributor, but would still like to support the effort, send whatever you can at whatever time you are able. Any support is appreciated and will be used.

Whatever you send, your contribution will be recorded however you wish for it to appear in the program report so that you can view exactly what is being done with your contribution.

NE ABCF, Lancaster
P.O. Box 891
Lancaster, PA 17608

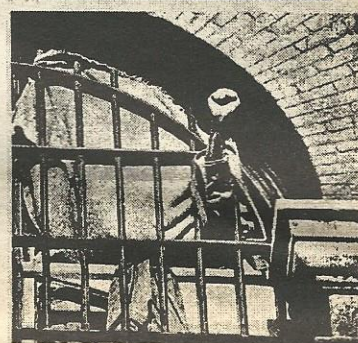
Checks or money orders out to T. Fasnacht

ABCF Contacts:

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An Updated History Of The New Afrikan Prison Struggle



by Sundiata Acoli

New Pamphlet by POW Sundiata Acoli

In cooperation with Sundiata Acoli and the Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign, Jacksonville ABCF has helped to release "Updated History of the New Afrikan Prison Struggle." The sequel to "Brief History of the New Afrikan Prison Struggle" Updated History is longer, more detailed and brought up to the present.

The pamphlet chronicles the struggles of Afrikans in US prisons from the 16th century and Civil War era, to the 90's and beyond, up to the turn of this century.

When the original Brief History was released in '92, it became standard reference material and a quick seller. Less than a decade later, many people were looking for a more recent and updated version of this informative work.

This 30 page 8.5x11 pamphlet is available from ABCF Jax for \$4 each. Price to prisoners is \$2. If ordering by mail, add \$1 for postage.

The ABCF also distributes the following material by Sundiata Acoli:

You Can Almost Hold it in Your Hand - \$1
Brinks Trial Testimony - \$2
Uses & Effects of Control Units - \$1
Uses & Effects of Control Units (audio) - \$5
Sundiata Interview on WBAI (audio) - \$5
Bits - N- Pieces - \$2
Assata Shakur greeting card - \$2
Black Madonna greeting card - \$2

60% of proceeds from all material is sent to Sundiata. If you're getting Sundiata material elsewhere, ask the vendor if they are sending at least a portion of the proceeds to help Sundiata.

Updated History of the New Afrikan Prison Struggle is not yet available from many people so get in touch with Jacksonville ABCF for your copy soon. Please inquire about bulk orders and bulk shipping rates.

Finding Hope After Seattle...

continued from page 14

powerful and deeply inspiring. Seen as complementary demands and tactics, they harbor valuable lessons about challenging power, fermenting social change, and developing directly democratic control over our lives. Indeed, they are the potential building blocks of a vivacious, diverse movement capable of winning key gains and, ultimately, transforming our society.

These examples may not seem especially 'radical' to some, particularly those in purist Anarchist and other circles that categorically eschew anything that hints of 'reformism.' In fact, acknowledging multiple forms of resistance thankfully does call into question the meaning of the word *radical*. Too often this concept is defined almost exclusively by white, middle-class men, self-appointed bearers of a radical standard. I think we can do better, though; and I mean we in the sense of all

of us who struggle in diverse ways to go to the root – to dismantle power and privilege, and fundamentally transform our society. What's lost in easy dismissals and clean dichotomies is that we all choose a variety of tools, tactics, strategies, and demands based on our circumstances and objectives. We should be *learning* from this versatility, not condemning it.

Pointing out that there are many ways that people act in their lives – both small and large – doesn't mean that we can't be critical, strategic, or focused in what we do and advocate. Neither can we give up our commitment, our demands on each other and ourselves. There are, however, many ways of working to transform the world. Let's learn from elders like veteran activist Bernice Johnson Reagon. She reminds us that the particular 'way' or 'issue' that any one of us chooses is not *the* way or issue. If we assume that it is, we risk ignoring other possibilities for social change, and we miss out on the inspiring efforts of people all over.

FINDING HOPE

Rethinking radical activism is about understanding social struggles in broad terms and toppling conventional hierarchies of activist 'worth.' Equally crucial, it's also about locating and sustaining hope. Overly fixated on mass mobilizations, we can easily lose sight of what's happening around us in our workplaces, households, classrooms, religious communities, neighborhoods, and local activist groups. Yet these commonplace venues can be just as subversive as street confrontations at major protests, if not more so.

Certainly there is something awe-inspiring and magical (not to mention critically effective) about large, militant actions. The WTO protests, for instance, were successful not only in disrupting the Ministerial, but also in enthusing and inspiring thousands. As Anarchist writer Chris Crass notes, though, Seattle "was made possible because of all of the organizing that we do day-to-day, the often unglamorous work that makes social change happen." That is, seemingly small contributions – community outreach, creative educational efforts, coalition-building, and much more – laid the groundwork for the victories at the WTO Ministerial. And the same is true for

each of the mobilizations since. The hope that many of us have found in the streets from Seattle to Prague, then, is not isolated; rather, it stems from the hope that we create every day. Examples are plentiful. Many of the best, in fact, we will likely never hear about. For one, there are all of the dedicated folks who run radical "resource centers" and "infoshops" out of email accounts, small offices, storefronts, campus buildings, and even their own homes. Often unknown beyond their communities, they provide essential resources and circulate crucial information. There are all of the grassroots welfare rights organizations in both small and large cities, orga-

The particular 'way' or 'issue' that any one of us chooses is not *the* way or issue. If we assume that it is, we risk ignoring other possibilities for social change, and we miss out on the inspiring efforts of people all over.

nized by some of the most demonized people in our society. Relying on shoestring budgets and all-out volunteer efforts, they organize incredible mutual aid and determined resistance. There are the courageous indigenous peoples, such as the Gwich'in in Northern Alaska and the Dine'h in Big Mountain, Arizona, struggling for the sanctity of their lands and cultures. Steadily, they confront a colonial project that spans hundreds of years. And there are the efforts of those working covertly in the Animal Liberation Front, the Earth Liberation Front, underground anti-bio-technology groups, and others still unknown. My feeling is that we're going to see more, not less, of these kinds of very direct actions.

Keep in mind that this is only a snapshot. Even these examples don't adequately represent the real breadth of inspirational resistance. Everywhere there are folks who continue to plug away – largely unknown – steadily transforming the world, each day, each week, each month, each year. At times barely audible, at times deafening, these efforts can supply a sustained sense of hope to last us well beyond our memories of Seattle and other recent mobilizations – and carry us into even bigger, more successful, more innovative ones.

BUILDING A MOVEMENT

Just over a year after the WTO protests, we are at a crossroads. Actually, we are at many crossroads, with critical questions of strategy, vision, and goals, among others. However, one particularly defining choice concerns how we understand and build this movement. On one hand, we can exclusively pin our hopes on what seasoned radicals Jenn Bowman and Summer Thomas call "activist tourism": organizing for militant direct actions across the globe, carrying each to a crescendo, moving on after the often anticlimactic outcomes, and calling this 'the movement.' On the other hand, we can complement mass mobilizations with a more multidimensional focus on diverse forms of radical activism. And further, we can recognize and ally ourselves with preexisting movements of diverse peoples who are organizing in their communities – and have been for a long time. The latter holds more promise – more hope – for building a healthy, sustained, inclusive movement (or coalition of move-

ments) struggling for fundamental social change on the edge of the twenty-first century.

We can move in this direction. Indeed, a genuine strength of this burgeoning movement view, is its growing willingness to discuss multiple tactics. Black bloc Anarchists in Seattle, for example, managed not only to successfully inflict damage on corporate targets, but also to initiate an ongoing discussion about the many ways that we can and do engage in social struggle. Of course, this discussion isn't always so civil – at times full of recriminations and self-righteousness – but it's a beginning. If we can steer beyond confining debates about street tactics at mass mobilizations,

we can perhaps begin to appreciate and consider diverse tactics and forms of activism in many other areas and circumstances.

I don't hesitate to say that we are forging a new libertarian politics, an innovative resistance with a vibrant sense of hope. And there is, as radical theorist Michael Albert

explains, a "logic" to this dissent: "Raise ever-enlarging threats to agendas that elites hold dear by growing in size and diversifying in focus and tactics until they meet our demands, and then go for more." Mobilizations are undisputedly crucial flare points for this, moments of gaining ground, captivating public attention, consolidating gains, and solidifying our resolve. Yet they are only one set of tools among a multitude of focuses and tactics.

Writer Naomi Klein, perhaps the most well-respected observer of the recent string of mobilizations, incisively points out that the movement born in Seattle isn't so much a single movement as a conglomeration of concentrations and campaigns with shifting but often common goals. Together, they're decentralized, dynamic, innovative, unpredictable, and difficult to control. This essentially Anarchist character is their distinct power. Consider the *potential* power, then, of applying this to an even more extensive movement with a variety of strategies and aims.

Ultimately this is what we must do, for social transformation requires a broad approach encompassing a truly radical movement (or movements) composed by the daily activism of mothers, farmers, people of color, youth, sex workers, immigrants, artists, queers, indigenous peoples, factory laborers, teachers, environmentalists, service employees, poor folks, and all of the other overlapping, diverse sectors of our society.

That is where I find hope after Seattle.

Chris Dixon (chrisak@tao.ca) is an Alaskan, activist, and writer presently living in Corvallis, Oregon. Currently, he is working on a book entitled *Critical Hope* and organizing with a loose network of West Coast activists to build a broader-based radical movement.

May Day...

continued from page 13

After hours of speeches, people were leaving when Samuel Fielden, a Methodist preacher and the final speaker, took the podium. Concluding his speech, he encouraged workers to stand up to the law, which did not protect them, urging them to "kill it, stab it . . . to impede its progress." The police considered this "inflammatory language" and 200 officers ordered those remaining to disperse immediately. As Fielden argued with the police of the peaceful intent of the meeting, someone threw a dynamite bomb at the police. One sergeant was killed immediately. The police then opened fire at the crowd. Estimates indicated that seven or eight civilians were killed. Several policemen and additional civilians died later.

Following the event, hysteria swept the city. Mayor Harrison declared martial law. Some believed the bomb had been thrown by an agent provocateur. Indeed, it served nicely as an excuse for the police to harass and attack scores of people. Hundreds were arrested. State Attorney for Cook County J. Grinnell announced in a public statement, "Make the raids first and look up the law afterwards." Labor unions were broken up. Picketing strikers were arrested and the police continued to beat labor supporters.

In conjunction with the bombing, the state arrested and indicted eight Anarchists: Spies, Michael Schwab, Fielden, Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg and Oscar Neebe. All were charged with conspiracy to murder, despite the fact that only three had been present at the Haymarket meeting. For their trial, a special bailiff was appointed to pick the jury. He stated, "These fellows are going to be hanged as certain as death." During the trial in June 1886, the state could not provide evidence that any of the men had knowledge of the bomb or that they had incited or participated in the violence.

But it wasn't the men so much as their ideas that were considered dangerous. As Grinnell stated in his summation: "Law is on trial. Anarchy is on trial. These men have been selected, picked out by the grand jury and indicted because they were leaders. They are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them. Gentlemen of the jury: convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and you save our institutions, our society."

As a result of the trial, all but one of the men received death sentences (Neebe received 15 years). Despite international outcry, Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were hanged on Nov. 11th, 1887; Lingg escaped by committing suicide in his cell. Hundreds of thousands of people lined the funeral procession for the executed men. Later, in 1893, when newly elected Governor Altgeld granted pardons to Neebe, Schwab, and Fielden, he admitted that the trial had been unfair and that the men had always been innocent of the crimes.

After Haymarket, workers all over the world pointed towards May 1 as their day. After 1886 rallies, strikes and other militant actions promoted the cause of the working class around the world. Unfortunately, a conservative element within US organized labor, combined with the crushing government repression of left politics, allowed the significance of the day to become lost in the United States.

As early as 1894, President Cleveland signed a bill naming not May 1 but the first Monday in September as "Labor Day." This creatively sidestepped the day with more historical significance. Adding further insult, President Eisenhower proclaimed May 1 as "Law Day" in 1958. In light of the history of May Day, it is ironic that the theme of this year's Law Day (sponsored by the American Bar Association) is "Celebrate Your Freedom." The focus is on "equal protection of the laws."

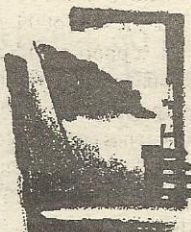
We must not forget what happened at Haymarket, lest we give reactionary forces the opportunity to revoke what the labor movement has gained. In 1886 the movement was strong and visible. The state provoked crowds into violence in order to create an excuse to undermine the progress of the working class. We cannot allow the government to frighten us back into silence. Instead we must follow the examples set by Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engel, and all the others who have died or been imprisoned by the state. The events of May Day 1886 remind us that workers will continue to be exploited until we stand up and oppose that exploitation. It is only with organization and the courage to speak out against injustice that we will gain better working conditions, better pay, and better lives.

Want More Anarchy in Your Life?

Get these great radical publications for your house, infoshop and store! They're all available from the Onward Collective. (Minimum order \$2) We have a limited supply so the sooner you order, the better! We expect the distro will grow as the paper does, so keep your eyes peeled for new stuff.

- ★ **ACTIVE TRANSFORMATION:** A direct action Anarchist newspaper. (\$1)
- ★ **BARRICADE:** Revolutionary Leftist Publication of the Barricada Collective. Feb. 2001. (\$1)
- ★ **BRINGING DEMOCRACY HOME:** Excellent booklet with 6 essays on democracy, the anti-globalization movement and creating social revolution... a must have! (\$3)
- ★ **CLAMOR:** An awesome magazine of radical voices on art, cultural criticism, photography, politics, and music. Dec 00-Jan 01, Feb-March 01 (\$2)
- ★ **THE NORTHEASTERN ANARCHIST:** The superb publication of the North Eastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (\$2)
- ★ **ONWARD:** The best damn newspaper you'll ever read! Great articles, superb layout, your life is meaningless without a copy. Every issue. (\$1)
- * We have many pamphlets on many topics. Send a couple bucks for some.

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Alternative to Queer Political Co-optation...

continued from page 11

state authority as an agent for social change into question. The high priority attached to electoral politics by groups such as the Human Rights Campaign is especially problematic. Even with all of the money and activists' labor devoted to promoting largely symbolic legislation outlawing some superficial forms of discrimination against queers, the organizational strength of anti-queer churches and groups such as Focus on the Family has managed to work even more effectively within the contours of state power. Numerous states have either overturned anti-discrimination laws or, at the behest of homophobic political lobbying and ultra-conservative politicians, passed overtly homophobic laws throughout the 1990s.

The limitations of state power in protecting the physical safety and dignity of queer people become even clearer when you consider the nature of most homophobic violence and oppression. The state of declared political and cultural war against queer people imposed by the far right is paralleled by an even more dangerous undeclared war being waged against queer people in the streets, in schools, and often within the very institutions of state power, especially the prison system. Over 1,400 "hate crimes" against queer people were reported to the FBI in 1998, a figure that is unquestionably much larger when you take into account the number of violent acts never reported to the police and the narrow, legalistic definitions of hate crimes utilized by the police and prosecutors. The situation for queer youth is especially dangerous; neither law enforcement agencies nor school administrators have shown the slightest inclination to prevent the systematic intimidation and violence queer youth face in virtually all secondary schools. Working within "the system" on the system's terms has failed, in the most spectacular and absolute way imaginable, to protect queer people from the most devastating assaults we face in a homophobic society. This failure should force us as radical activists to rethink our dependence upon even the "progressive" wing of the state.

THE GAY RIGHTS MAINSTREAM AS WHIP HAND FOR CAPITAL

The true meaning of the gay rights movement's steadfast quest to "get a place at the table" becomes even clearer when you examine the role that corporate capitalism plays in determining the priorities and tactics of the mainstream struggle for queer libera-

tion. Having reasoned that the surest path to social and political power rests in "our" pocketbooks, large queer organizations have in recent years loudly asserted queer America's potential power as a monolithic bloc of affluent consumers. A popular chant overheard at a recent Pride Day march in Burlington, Vermont—"We're Here, We're Queer, We Shop" (!)—perfectly illustrates the smug, classist assumption that purchasing power is a sufficient form of political leverage, that we (or, at any rate, the universalized upper middle-class queer "we") can buy our way out of the crushing homophobia of this society. The delusions underlying this strategy would be quietly hilarious if it were not characteristic of a larger, more dangerous trend within mainstream queer activism—the infusion of corporate money that has allowed such complacent, cynical ideology to guide action.

histories of labor strife and attempted union-busting, as prominent sponsors, and millions of dollars have been donated by openly queer CEOs such as David Geffen to queer political lobbying efforts and election organizing. Moreover, numerous other large corporations with immense power in telecommunications and the defense industry such as Disney and General Electric are uncritically portrayed by the movement as allies in the struggle, by virtue of the insurance benefits they offer to the same-gender partners of their white-collar employees. It's not surprising that the thorough interconnection of corporate power and queer activism has discouraged the development of even mild critiques of capitalism and state power within queer political discourse.

Indeed, the movement's tendency to focus on the small concessions won by middle class employees and to invoke the threat of an apocryphal, all-encompassing queer upper middle class as an illustration of potential empowerment, denies the very existence of millions of poor and working-class queers. It also devalues or ignores the very real economic exploitation they suffer at the hands of the same capitalist power structure the leadership of the movement so eagerly embraces as financial patrons and allies. This inherent contradiction—advocating reform through the power of the state and within corporate structures while refusing to acknowledge the violence suffered by non-white and non-affluent queers (in the forms of poverty, police violence in communities of color, in prisons, and so on)—speaks loudly for the need for radical queers to reclaim this faltering movement.

STEPS TOWARD AN ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN/ANTI-CAPITALIST QUEER MOVEMENT

As radical queers, we really do need to reinvent the wheel in order to transform the queer liberation

struggle into a truly democratic, inclusive mass movement unwilling to accommodate or pander to the dictates of unjust systems of exploitation. The urgency and stakes involved in this project are growing daily. The capitalist/police state is resorting to ever harsher measures in terms of economic structural adjustment and the growing militarization of public life in order to consolidate its power and, more directly, the escalation of political, cultural, and physical attacks on queer people and the very notion of queer identity is quickly coalescing into a state of open warfare against us. The organizing issues confronting us as anti-authoritarian queers are in many ways similar to those dealt with throughout the burgeoning global struggle against capitalist/racist/sexist/police state domination, and we need to take some of the same initiatives as other, forward-thinking organizations and movements have—dedicating serious efforts to community-level organizing, alliance-building with other liberation struggles (a tactic the mainstream gay rights movement lost sight of long ago), and articulating an explicitly anti-capitalist, anti-authoritarian queer analysis that connects our oppression to the larger, interlocking system of domination that shapes our lives.

It seems easy enough in the abstract. The reality is somewhat more daunting, though organizations do exist (or are emerging) that embody the forms that a more radical queer liberation movement should take. Philadelphia ACT-UP offers an instructive example. For over fifteen years, they have worked within Philadelphia's queer communities to confront racism, homophobic public and religious institutions, and to provide direct support to HIV-positive queers; more recently, they have played instrumental roles in the planning and execution of several mass actions, most notably the A16 protests against the World Bank and IMF and the mobilization against the Republican National Convention last summer (a role in which they experienced severe police repression; one ACT-UP Philly organizer, Kate Sorenson, is at press time facing trial for six trumped-up felony charges). Among other priorities that a truly radical queer movement should address as immediately and forcefully as possible is the epidemic of violence and harassment directed at queer youth in schools. Groups such as the newly revived Queer Liberation Front have placed this issue at the forefront of their efforts, and though this form of direct action carries substantial risks, we must recognize (and, from our own experiences growing up, probably already do, if only on a subconscious level) that the war on queer youth represents the front lines of broader homophobic and patriarchal efforts to destroy us.

The noted African American lesbian poet Audre Lorde was right on the mark when she argued that we cannot use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house. This is an opportune historic and strategic moment for us to abandon those activists and organizations that seem more interested in claiming their "rightful" share of the master's house, than in waging a meaningful struggle for the true liberation of all queer communities.

Tom Thomson is an activist based in Gainesville, Florida. He would love feedback on this article; contact him via snail mail c/o the Onward Collective, or at xsomeshtx@hotmail.com.

The organizing issues confronting us as anti-authoritarian queers are in many ways similar to those dealt with throughout the burgeoning global struggle against capitalist/racist/sexist/police state domination, and we need to take some of the same initiatives as other, forward-thinking organizations and movements have—dedicating serious efforts to community-level organizing, alliance-building with other liberation struggles, and articulating an explicitly anti-capitalist, anti-authoritarian queer analysis that connects our oppression to the larger, interlocking system of domination that shapes our lives.

The wholesale corporate takeover of the queer struggle functions on many different levels, but its most immediate impact has been to confirm the commitment of the movement's leadership to the service of economic privilege, and to substantively divert the movement's priorities away from a vision of more militant, inclusive, and anti-authoritarian struggle. Corporate sponsorship of gay pride events, and the transformation of such public actions into a veritable consumer's paradise complete with merchandise booths and business networking expos, is only the most visible symbol of capitalist influence. A large portion of the political organizing done by the Human Rights Campaign and similar groups is subsidized by large donations from multinational corporations: HRC lists American Airlines and Verizon, both of which have

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EVENTS

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SOA and Religious Activism

Dear Onward Collective,

I read Rob's description of the demo at the School of the Americas [*Protest and Disempowerment: One Anarchist's Experience at SOA* from Winter 2000-01 issue of *ONWARD*] and am writing because I have had close encounters with similar groups over the years and have some thoughts that may contribute to the dialogue.

I was involved with the African Liberation Support Committee in the 70s—a coalition against the racist settler regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. The coalition members include Catholic pacifists, Maoist, liberal academics, Black Nationalists and working-class activists. One of its most successful campaigns was the boycott of Rhodesian chrome, an ore necessary to the making of steel. At the time there were radical caucuses in steelyards, shipyards, auto plants as well as African-American radical workers groups in many cities. These groups were the result of the radical 60s movements that decided that organizing the working class in factories and communities was the direction for revolutionary change. What this meant to us was "relying on the masses," knowing that people experience conflict with the system in a myriad ways and want justice. The role of revolutionaries was to "organize"—facilitate particular struggles which had the potential to bring the power relationships clearly into focus. Through participation in these struggles, people would transform—from angry isolation to political empowerment through collective engagement.

The mechanics was to watch the newspapers for the notice for incoming ore ships from Rhodesia and round up workers from other factories, students and political activists to show up at the docks to catch the longshoremen as they drove into the gates. We would hand them a leaflet and try to engage them in conversation. We would have banners and signs explaining why we were there. The strategy of my group was to stop the chrome from being unloaded by winning over the longshoremen to refuse to unload the chrome. Pretty straight forward. I wouldn't think of doing it any other way. But the Catholic pacifists were there to "bear witness." They were determined to put their bodies on the line and block ships from being unloaded, go to jail and serve their time.

The longshoremen in Baltimore and many other coast cities included many African-Americans. When approached by the demonstrators they were in agreement with our purpose and did not touch the ore. The ships bumped up and down the coast, refused at port after port—from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico—and had to bring the ore all the way back to Rhodesia time after time. When it was apparent that the longshoremen were won over the Catholic pacifist were pissed. A few wanted to go onto the boats to protest anyway and get busted.

In the 80s I was part of the Latin American Solidarity Committee—the movement against

US military involvement in Central America. This was an earlier incarnation of the same coalition you describe at the SOA demo. Despite the chapter at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee having more than 40 members (and the citywide group being even larger) their activities were mostly inner directed—educational for the membership, films and cultural events with an occasional demo away in Chicago or DC. The group was startled and resistant when my partner and I suggested doing education and agitation to the campus community. We initiated doing literature tables and leafletting with engaging people in dialogue. It was scary for a lot of people to do, but it was such a good thing. Things progressed to doing street theatre performances with masks and stilt-walkers and music. This developed an activist community that continued through the Gulf War period.

The campus group was pretty much won over to doing things the lively way, but the citywide group persisted in marching around in a circle chanting at the empty downtown Federal Building on the streets vacated by the weekday workforce. Grim looking automatons plodding on their sad circular track, bearing their witness.

The religious pacifist movement is so focused on their own "righteousness" that it's hard to see where they do anything to make radical social change. They are in essence reformist, petitioning the military to be moral while they ignore the millions of people who want an end to imperialist wars. What isn't demoralizing about that? What is important is that we learn from all this and not become like them. Our movement today must be engaging and inclusive. We have to ask ourselves—when we demonstrate, are we inviting people in? We must avoid isolation in our enlightenment and feel that we must carry the struggle on our few skinny shoulders. It must not be easier to face off with police at demonstrations than to engage strangers, even co-workers and neighbors in political discussion.

Susan Simensky

SOA, Seattle, and Anarchism

Hi Rob,

I agree with a lot of what you had to say about the organizational structure of SOAW—I am one of a small group of younger anti-globalization activists that worked with SOAW in planning the protest. I have been working with SOAW for three years and they have made incredible progress from a hierarchical organization run by a priest to being more open, and we can work with them so this continues. We really had to struggle to get the autonomous actions added to this year's vigil. A lot of the older more religious based folks were scared of "Anarchists" and didn't want it to be another "Seattle." We need to ease them into more militant tactics. A lot of the people who crossed in the first procession probably have never committed acts of civil disobedience before and this is a good empowering first step for them. Hopefully this experience and others will lead to more disobedience actions in the future.

SOAW, and those in the leadership scared at giving up power, are reassured after this year's vigil that they can allow autonomous actions and things will still be OK. So hopefully next year things can be more democratic and there will be more disobedience. We can't expect them to change overnight. But we can bring along thousands of people to more militant tactics, but it has to be done slowly. If we are going to build a movement that can make real change we need all those people: nuns, students, liberals, and people who have no idea what an affinity group is. People who only saw Seattle through the eyes of CNN got to see puppets for themselves and maybe some real live 'Anarchists' and realized that we're not that scary.

Also, SOAW is open to actions at other times in the year. I helped with an action last May and two this November (2000) before and after the vigil (the symbolic hanging and banner hanging). They want the November vigil to somehow find the balance to being comfortable to everyone.

Thanks,
Laurel Paget-Seekins

Hello Laurel,

It's troublesome that some SOAW folks were afraid of the recent SOA protest turning into another 'Seattle' when 'Seattle' was the most gigantic victory won by grassroots movements in decades! We successfully exposed the WTO, shut it down, put them on the defensive (for once), and inspired thousands, if not millions of others around the world to the potential of grassroots political movements. And not only was 'Seattle' successful in all of those ways but also that we did it in bottom-up, non-hierarchical, decentralized, directly-democratic, and co-operative organizing. We should be hoping for the success of 'Seattle' with every action we plan!

About SOAW fearing 'the Anarchists,' they should re-evaluate the *organizing structures* that made 'Seattle' so successful. They were consistent with those developed by Anarchists years and years ago. Anarchists were not just destroying property, but also heavily involved in communications, medical, food, housing, planning, jail solidarity, legal, trainings, street barricading, performance, media, and destroying corporate and State property! Anarchists worked on all fronts!

So much of the success that we see today and much of the new movement itself is due to the popularity of Anarchist ideas and of putting them into practice. Part of this process also is of democratizing our own protests, even that of SOAW.

SOAW's attempts to be as inclusive as possible (in attendance) is greatly important! Building mass movements against the State and Capitalism is part of making the new society. How SOAW will be more inclusive (in decision-making) is a difficult challenge our movements must face. The new society must not just be peaceful and free from militarism but also radically democratic, inclusive, and participatory as well.

Solidarity.
Rob Augman-- Onward Collective

Building a Movement to Free PP/POWs

Greetings Dan and the Onward Collective:

All on this end is as can be expected under the prevailing circumstances. I am still waiting to be transferred to a prison closer to NYC. Perhaps when I get there I'll be able to get the publication with less scrutiny.

Indeed, there are several forums and conferences being planned to discuss the existence of US PP/POWs. At the end of the year, the BPP is having a reunion in DC (Howard Univ) in which this issue will be raised; Malcolm X Grassroots Movement-NYC will be traveling to South Afrika for the UN Conf. and Black August commemoration to discuss and raise the issue of US PP/POWs. Jericho-CA & MXGM-CA are planning to have a conference in Cuba at the end of the year on US PP/POWs, and other folks are developing forums across the country to assist in raising the issue onto the national debate. It was hoped that Clinton would pardon more political prisoners before leaving office as several petitions were submitted to him (*Clinton pardoned PPs Linda Evans and Susan Rosenberg*—eds). The Congressional Black Caucus submitted a letter in support of one of the petitions submitted to him. The Congressional Black Caucus submitted a letter in support of one of the petitions for pardons, and Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney filed a report with Clinton based on a forum she sponsored on COINTELPRO human rights violations and the existence of PP/POWs in support of the petitions. Unfortunately, as of this writing he failed to be responsive to this initiative, which ultimately mean we have another 4 years to build a momentous campaign to demand amnesty and release of US PP/POWs. Of course, I believe that the Jericho Amnesty Movement should be the center organizational representative in this national determination. Progressive forces should lend physical and material support to The Jericho Amnesty Movement in order to build the kind of national campaign that empowers political prisoners of war. We have much work to accomplish, but the rudimentary organizational structure exist in The Jericho Amnesty Movement, which means we do not need to reinvent the wheel. All progressive forces, no matter the political allegiance, should recognize there is strength in unity, and the issue of US PP/POWs transcend party-lines. The task before us is to build a sustainable national movement that is uncompromising and relenting in building support for US political prisoners of war. When we have accomplished this task, our entire struggle will have taken a qualitative leap forward identifying with a single issue we all can agree demand our principled physical and material support. Championing the cause of amnesty and release of PP/POWs ultimately demands the study of why these women and men are in prison. Activists will have to study the history of struggle these captives were engaged, and the methodology used to suppress the movements they took part. Hence, when Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney demands that there must be a reopening of the Church Senate Committee investigation on the FBI's COINTELPRO activities, she will have the support of progressive activist from across the country and internationally. We will be able to expose the war that J. Edgar Hoover declared on these progressive forces resulting in their imprisonment. We will have been able to teach a new generation of activist about the violent nature of the State, about State terrorism and why we must be prepared to fight back at all times. We will come to terms with the reality that "We Are Our Own Liberators!"

Struggle straight ahead,
Anthony Jalil Bottom
(see page 20 for Jalil's contact information!)



Artwork by Susan Simensky

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SBI# 0000901548
Trenton, NJ 08625

This is a partial listing of political prisoners and prisoners of war currently imprisoned in America. This is a list of class war prisoners compiled by the Anarchist Black Cross Federation. Those listed come from a variety of backgrounds- Anarchist, communist, socialist; New Afrikans, Puerto Rican independistas and white anti-imperialists. In our present state of struggle, the best thing we can do is learn from those who have been fighting for the same things for a long time... and now face extreme repression because of it. If we fail to support our prisoners, we have already lost. Please write to someone today! Following this list of prisoners is a list of organizations that do prisoner support for other types of political prisoners: animal and earth liberationists, anti-nuclear activists etc. Political prisoners need our support!

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aplan69@hotmail.com

★Earth First! Journal
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Eugene OR 97440
earthfirst@igc.org
www.earthfirstjournal.org

★Earth Liberation Prisoner Support Network
PO Box 11331
Eugene OR 97440

★The Jericho Movement
PO Box 650, New York, NY 10009
jericho98@usa.net
www.thejerichomovement.com

★No Compromise
PO Box 1440
Santa Cruz CA 95060-0917
nocomp@waste.org
www.nocompromise.org

★The Nuclear Resister
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nukeresister@igc.org
www.nonviolence.org/nukeresister/
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Stick it to the Manarchy...

continued from page 15

Ultimately, we find the "NO COMPROMISE" position compromises a significant part of our ideals. We are working to build a world where people are empowered and loving. However, manarchist militancy tends to insult allies in the movement rather than act in solidarity. The narrative of non-compromised purity reminds us of college fraternities saying, "you're not macho enough" and the Christian Right saying, "you're not holy enough." It is simply chauvinism that divides people.

The intersection of the militancy and no-compromise position is quite similar to the martyr ethic of the religious movement's call for civil disobedience where people sacrifice themselves for a greater cause. In the past few years, civil disobedience has come under fire by radicals calling for tactics less cooperative with the system and more empowering and inclusive for the participant. Yet, manarchist reasoning has gone full circle; jail time and battle wounds have become the new self-sacrificial disobedience.

We would also note that religious movements calling for civil disobedience tend to emphasize love, while manarchists emphasize aggression. *Five Days That Shook the World*, a book written within the movement about "Seattle and Beyond," celebrates direct action participants as "street warriors." The Random House dictionary defines warrior as "1. A man engaged or experienced in warfare; soldier. 2. A person who has shown great vigor, courage, or aggressiveness, as in politics." A warrior is a self-proclaimed hero, dogmatic and competitive.

We do not romanticize the image of the non-compromising militant, ready to take anything on in the name of the cause. We are not Rambo. We are not the Navy Seals. We are not heroes. We are Anarchists, building a space that is empowering, accepting, inclusive, accessible, communicative, and community oriented.

To build the movement, we must be more than merely relentlessly physically rugged, devoted to the cause, self-sacrificial and militant. Those who cannot afford - monetarily, physically or emotionally - to risk arrest, lawsuits or physical assault are excluded from this club.

This means many women, people of color, the young and elderly, and the economically disadvantaged do not have what it takes to participate in the manarchist revolution. Revolutions that benefit only the middle/upper class white males are as unacceptable as revolutions of young warriors sacrificing themselves for the good of the women and children they exclude.

Mass actions are only one part of Anarchist organizing. However, when they occur they should feel like gatherings where people are empowered, enjoying themselves, and in solidarity with their allies. Marching in the Black Bloc we have found many are tough enough to get hit on the head, but not open enough to say hello, let alone communicate tactical ideas, need, or feelings. This embodies the typical male gender role. If one wants to be a street warrior, we urge the warrior to direct his or her negative energies at the system and contribute positive feelings back to the movement.

Rather than the motto, "NO COMPROMISE," we call for "whatever works." If that sounds too cold, we suggest, "Live the Revolution." Quite simply, we urge our comrades to more carefully evaluate how our actions will affect our targets, capitalism, and oppression. We are not critiquing militant tactics or the people who use them; we are calling for people to step outside their Anarchist dogmatism and use tactics as they are useful.

We value alliance building, discussing ideological and tactical differences, and understanding and respecting each other's varying opinions. If a movement is uniform in tactics and ideologies, it is boring and vulnerable to extinction. We must work with those with different opinions, while recognizing our common goals and organize in a way that respects and acknowledges difference through communication.

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